



1990

The Evolution of Equality in Educational Thought: An Historical Biography of the Ethnological Ideology That Supported a System of Dual Education in America from 1865 to 1954

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**THE EVOLUTION OF EQUALITY IN EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT
AN HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL IDEOLOGY
THAT SUPPORTED A SYSTEM OF DUAL EDUCATION IN AMERICA
FROM 1865 TO 1954**

**by
Cheryl Renee Gholar**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
May
1990**

DEDICATION

To my father whose committment to the ideals of freedom were reflected throughout his life and work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In writing this book, I have incurred a debt and an overwhelming appreciation to many outstanding Professors, friends, relatives and colleagues for their encouragement, support and guidance.

To God, for being my unwavering source of strength, health and wisdom throughout this project.

To Fr. Michael Perko, S. J., Doctoral Director, my deepest appreciation for his support, suggestions, constructive guidance, and understanding.

To Dr. Joan Smith and Dr. Max Bailey, committee members, my sincere appreciation for their input, direction and support.

To members of the library staff at Loyola University, Ohio State University and Texas Southern University for their assistance and expertise in securing resource materials.

To Maria I. Sierra, typist and special friend. Her perserverance and persistence enabled me to complete this study in a timely manner.

To Patricia Wallace and Maritzielle Bonilla for giving of their time to proofread many of the chapters, my sincere appreciation.

To my sisters, Moonyueen, Teanna, Marla and Theajyneen and brother, Nicholas, my sincerest appreciation for their love, prayers and support.

To my mother, Mrs. Geneva Raulston for her belief in me and her encouragement, my sincere thanks.

To my pastor and his wife Rev. and Mrs. William Allen and the wonderful members of my church for their love and prayers.

To my husband, John Gholar for his guidance, love, support and encouragement, I will be forever thankful.

To my dear sweet children, Tiffany Jonee, and John Christopher for their patience and love.

To my dearest friends, Ernestine Riggs, Mary McPherson, Dorothy Wadley, Thelma Preston, Joyce Smith, Zenobia Jenkins and Yvonne Wright, my sincerest appreciation for their love and moral support.

Finally, to other family members and friends, too numerous to name, I am grateful for their help and support.

VITA

The author, Cheryl Renee Gholar, is the daughter of Theordore R. Raulston and Geneva Raulston. She was born in the city of Chicago. She attended the the Chicago Public Schools during her elementary and high school career. Cheryl graduated from the Betsy Ross Elementary School in 1959. She attended Englewood High School on the southside of Chicago and graduated in 1962. In September, 1962 she enrolled in Chicago Teachers College and majored in intermediate elementary education with a minor in art. She graduated in 1966 with a Bachelors of Science in Education Degree. Upon graduation, she was employed as a teacher in the Chicago Public Schools. In 1968, she travelled to Paris and studied French Culture at the University of Paris. Cheryl enrolled in a Master's program at Western Illinois University, in Macomb, Illinois in 1970. Her major course of study was Guidance and Counselling. She graduated from Western Illinois University in 1972.

Cheryl returned to the Chicago Public Schools in 1972 and was placed in a Counseling position at DuSable High School. She earned numerous awards and certificates of merit for outstanding and dedicated service to students. One award that she particularly values is the Kate Maremont, Dedicated Teacher Award. In 1982, she became a Guidance coordinator wherein she assisted School Counselors in designing and implementing exemplary guidance programs for elementary and high school students. She has devoted a large portion of her professional time to development and infusion of the goals of character education into the elementary school curriculum.

She has taught numerous grades, conducted inservice training workshops for teachers and counselors and is dedicated to goals of quality education for

all students. Cheryl is currently working as a coordinator in the Department of Equal Educational Opportunity Programs with the Chicago Public Schools.

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CHAPTER ONE
THE EVOLUTION OF EQUALITY IN EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT:
AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

This study of the evolution of equality in educational thought will examine the impact of racial ideology on the manner in which Negro and white students would be educated in America from 1865 to 1954. Schooling for the dominant culture was promoted and received full support while countervailing forces existed within the culture to deny equal educational access to members of the subordinate culture. Equality in education as an American experience changes in meaning as a result of changing social, economic and cultural conditions. Social conflict will be explored in the context of the educational power struggle of the major culture to build and sustain a biracial educational system. In this study, there will be an examination of the hardships experienced by Negroes in obtaining an education.

The study analyzes the social and cultural principles and practices that resulted in the asymmetrical distribution of equality and justice in the American system of education during the period from 1865 to 1954. An examination of American schools involves an understanding of American thought. The history of knowledge, the speculation of ideas and values cannot be easily traced without reference to the institutions (schools) that teach and carry out the beliefs of a culture. If the history of change regarding equality versus inequality in education is to be more than a chronicle, it is necessary to explain, as far as possible how change took place. Factors that aided and retarded equality in choosing must be considered. The emphasis on ideas and how ideas and values are infused into educational policy making and tradition will be a major concern of this study.

Research relating to equality in education in this volume is organized in chronological periods, focusing on ideas which may be thought of as characteristic of the periods under study. The era extending approximately from 1865 to 1896 was marked by the ideology of nationalism in social and political thought. This concept is highlighted in chapter two of this dissertation through the espoused educational ideology of the McGuffey readers. Part of America's most impressive cultural history is embodied in the text of these readers. However, for the purpose of this study, the reader is symbolic of American consensus morality. It provides a solid notion of national views and cultural expectations. The American ideal which is so vividly portrayed in the McGuffey readers will serve the backdrop from which issues relating to educational equity will emerge.

From 1896 through 1918, dominant social ideas included the ideology espoused in Social Darwinism. It is during this period that the U.S. Supreme Court prescribed segregation with the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896. Even though Plessy v. Ferguson relating only to segregation on railroads; the Court in the 1908 Berea College case held that a state could, under the separate-but-equal doctrine, forbid even a private college to instruct whites and blacks together.¹ Social Darwinism played a significant role in sustaining and reinforcing segregation thought throughout this period in relationship to schooling for the American Negro.

The crusade was on by 1918 to make the world safe for democracy. However, the paradox of the nation's preoccupation with American ideals in the World War I era along with the persistence of anti-Negro thought brought about protests from Negro leaders, in particular, the NAACP. The period was marked by a new wave of lynchings and a resurgence of the Ku-Klux-Klan. The creation

of separate school systems in the states electing to take that step was virtually completed before the opening of this era as will be seen in chapter four of this study.

As a result of growing litigation relating to fair housing, employment and education, the Negro gained increasing political power and educational attainments which fostered a new level of self confidence during the period between 1938 and 1954. However, the penalty for being black continued to be expressed in education policies and state and federal laws until the end of the period under study. It was not until then that a shift in social attitudes and sentiment take on a visible change in the American society. The legal foundation for equality in education had been laid during this era and the revival of new hopes for equity in education had begun with the United States Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education in Topeka.

The educational ideology before 1954 that racial segregation in public schools was permissible provided that the "separate" schools were "equal," went back in history to a Massachusetts case which in 1849 sustained the validity of "separate but equal" schools in Boston. The Massachusetts legislature enacted a statute desegregating public schools in that state, but the judicial concept of "separate" schools lived on to dominate the South's school systems for a century.²

The concept as aforementioned was reaffirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson, which in 1896 upheld a Louisiana statute requiring separate railroad accommodations for Negroes and whites and cited the then accepted practice of public school segregation as a practical precedent for the railroad rule. In the 1927 Supreme Court case, Gong Lum v. Rice, the "separate" rule was held appropriate to send a Chinese child to a school maintained for Negroes.³

Subsequent to the Gong Lum case, a series of cases concerning the right of Negroes to attend state colleges was presented to the courts. The courts of Maryland in 1936 compelled the university law school of that state to admit Negroes, rather than pay their tuition to out-of-state schools, on the theory that instruction obtained elsewhere was not "equal" to that afforded at the University of Maryland for a person who proposed to practice law in Maryland.⁴ In the Gaines case from Missouri, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1938 accepted the same idea, though Missouri complied with the decision by setting up a separate law school for Negroes at St. Louis.⁵ As a result of the Sipuel cases in 1948, Oklahoma chose to admit Negroes to its regular university law school rather than set up a separate school of law.⁶ The separate law school established for Negroes in Texas was found to be unacceptable and not "equal." The court ruled that a Negro graduate student, George W. McLaurin, was held entitled to be seated with other students in his classes at the University of Oklahoma instead of being seated in an adjoining room where he could hear but not participate fully in class activities. A number of other college cases were pending in southern states and federal courts at the time the 1954 desegregation decision was handed down.⁷

The need for a comprehensive body of acts about Negro schools was not generally recognized until court decisions made it mandatory for states with dual school systems to give serious consideration to the idea of equality in the "equal" phase of the "separate but equal" doctrine upon which public education in the South had been for so long predicated. When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People utilized the courts as an instrument to direct its attack on segregation, it became obvious that judgments regarding the future of schools could not be made on the basis of existing knowledge.⁸

The Fund for the Advancement of Education, acting on what they perceived as a need for an objective and far-reaching study of facts concerning public education, the Fund decided in the summer of 1953 to provide financial support for educational research. The staff of the Southern State Cooperative Program in Educational Administration accepted the responsibility for conducting a study on the dual system of education. Research in this area contributed significantly to the development of a greater understanding of the realities that existed in public schools education as a result of biracial education.⁹

During the period from 1896 to 1954, the United States Supreme Court on a number of occasions held that segregation was not discrimination as long as adequate accommodations are provided for both races. The platitudes of democracy were voiced in the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and throughout the American justice system. However, for many Negroes, there was no adequate demonstration of democracy in education. It was the contention of Negro leaders who fought for equal educational opportunities for Negro students that segregation in itself was discrimination. Questions regarding segregation and discrimination were placed before the United States Supreme Court throughout this period. The court held that segregation was not discrimination as long as adequate accommodations were provided for both races.¹⁰

This study will examine the educational facilities that were provided for Negro students, revenues established to finance the education of white and Negro students, textbooks, the response of Negroes to biracial education will be traced over time in an effort to more clearly understand the core concepts of American thought regarding racial ideology and American schooling. Considerations will be made regarding the social forces that impacted upon the perpetuation of educational inequality for Negroes.

There will also be an examination of the use of science by those who advocated the separation of the races in education to analyze the ideas and the literature used to defend segregation in the culture. The first third of the twentieth century was marked by scientific management, scientific pedagogy, social Darwinism, the social gospel, the testing movement and the "scientific racism."¹¹ Historically, science and research had held a place of honor in the American society. Research findings in the area of inherent racial inferiority were accepted by many as scientific evidence that the Negro race was unequal to the white Anglo saxon intellectually and should therefore be educated in separate educational facilities. Through examining "scientific racism" during the period under study, consideration can be made as to its possible impact on school policies and legislation.¹²

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND THE NEGRO

A consistent and continuous effort has been made during the history of the United States to present American Negroes as inferior, invisible or as people different from the "normal" American. Their biological inferiority and racial inequality have been readily accepted because they have been so treated by many American thinkers. Conclusions drawn from differences in color, physique and other apparently inherited or acquired characteristics, which have been considered inescapable have played a significant role in the development of a dual system of education. The prescribed racial ideology further impacted the laws that were implemented to sustain the separation of the races in educational settings as well as the types of educational programs that would be provided to white and Negro children.¹³

The Negro was generally regarded as inferior in numerous historical accounts. His physical abilities and weaknesses, and mental capacities had been

subjected to investigation. The brain and the head have been weighed and measured. Anatomical differences of many types have been examined. Tendencies to special diseases have been investigated. Psychological studies were attempted to secure peculiarities in intelligence along racial lines. Many assumptions of inferiority were based on Biblical quotations.

Many responses to anti-Negro thought and educational equality will be examined throughout this dissertation. The Negro's ideology regarding segregation in education changes over time as a result of social, political and economic experiences in the American culture. The Negro travels during times of war to foreign lands and discovers a level of acceptance never experienced before in his own homeland. His on going experiences during this period of being viewed as "invisible" in America contributed greatly to an internalized cognitive dissonance that compelled his relentless pursuit for educational equity. The ideals embodied in the principles of democracy are analyzed and compared to the educational realities that emerged for the American Negro over time. It is here that the rationale for a dual system of education in America is best understood and the response of many Negroes to the educational system under study. The prevailing theme that emerges throughout the research is the determination of a people to gain access to equal educational opportunities.

NOTES

1. Berea College v. Kentucky, 211 U.S. 26 (1908).
2. Roberts v. City of Boston, 59 Mass. 198 (1850).
3. Gong Lum v. Rice, 275 U.S. 78 (1927).
4. University of Maryland v. Murray, 165 Mo. 478 (1935).
5. Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada, 305 U.S. 333 (1908)
6. Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma, 332 U.S. 631 (1948).
7. McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 U.S. 737 (1950).
8. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation In The Public Schools (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), 18-31.
9. Truman, White and Negro Schools in The South, 3-5.
10. Brown V. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
11. I. A. Newby, The Development of Segregationist Thought (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1968), 137-140.
12. I. A. Newby, Challenge To The Court (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 4-9.
13. Carter G. Woodson, "The Concept of Negro Inferiority in American Thought," The Journal of Negro History 22 (1940): 540-541.

CHAPTER TWO
AMERICAN CONSENSUS MORALITY AND EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGIES
1865-1896: A CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

The period 1865-1896, radiated with the belief that education could shape the future of a country that was destined for greatness. The vein of millennialism ran deep into the core of American life. Many of the common school promoters of the early to middle nineteenth century were convinced that America was literally God's country. The pervasive sentiments were that this land was chosen by God to bring about the redemption of mankind. The version of millennialism most commonly shared was not that of an apocalyptic Second Coming, but the gradual creation of the Kingdom of God on earth and the triumph of Christian principles in government and society.¹

There was a belief that an "all-seeing eye" was witnessing all human behavior; therefore, teaching was a calling similar to that of church ministry. Education was moral as well as intellectual. School as well as church were viewed as institutions designed to produce a homogeneous moral and civic order.²

John Higham refers to the basis for which public education was designed in the nineteenth century in large part on a belief system he calls a protestant-republican ideology, a source of unity in a highly decentralized nation. The McGuffey Readers clearly played a significant role in weaving from a plurality of social, political, religious and cultural tenets of thought a Protestant ideology that attached itself to American nationalism. The American ideology of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, coupled with secularized Puritan values of industry, frugality and temperance made the American educational

system become the conduit for expressing the American civil religion and expectations of its citizens.³

Among the most influential American textbooks that embraced and disseminated the cultural mores of American civilization, the McGuffey Readers are included as part of America's most impressive historical, cultural, and educational monuments. It would be difficult at best to examine American values of this era without investigating the espoused ideology of the readers. The text of the readers reinforced and documented traditional American thought regarding cultural ideals. It is upon this backdrop that the evolution of equality in Negro education will unfold.

THE MCGUFFEY READER

The McGuffey Reader introduced thousands of boys and girls to the American thought on the appropriate moral behavior. The moral and cultural influence upon children contributed greatly to the shaping of the nineteenth century American mind, from the First Reader through the Sixth, concepts on morality are pervasive and insistent. There is rarely a page that does not address itself to a particular moral problem or moral lesson. The morality of the readers seemingly was that of the Victorian age everywhere in the Western world. It can be read in almost all children's books of that time. The nature of morality that was woven throughout the readers was deeply religious and religion for mid to late nineteenth century Americans meant Protestant Christianity.⁴

The materials for the readers would not be copied from the stories and poetry found in the New England Primers. Death and the grave would not be stressed but poetry and literature that possessed a theme of tolerance, neighborliness, toil, strict honesty and truthfulness, unfeigned faith and piety. If infant damnation was still a belief among the Calvinists of the Western world,

it would not be thrust into the literature of the schools. The new texts would be an introduction to the joys of life, the beauty of the garden, field and wood. The McGuffey Alternate Sixth Reader states "As the world of nature reveals it's wonders to each child as if they were new creations, so will the world of literature present itself to each generation with a new face."⁵

The McGuffey morality heightened children's awareness of divine providence as seen in the First Eclectic Reader:

When the stars at set of sun
Watch you from on high,
When the morning has begun,
Think the Lord is nigh.

All you do and all you say,
He can see and hear;
When you work and when you play,
Think the Lord is near,

All your joys and griefs He knows,
Counts each falling tear,
When to Him you tell your woe,
Know the Lord will hear.⁶

Children were made profoundly aware that God was omnipresent. They were to be careful of their conduct at all times; at work as well as play. God was to be revered; however, His love could radiate to each child. His presence could span the entire universe yet He always has time to share in the personal experience of each child. The notion of the all-seeing eye is also reflected in the Eclectic Primer of 1849. Children were warned against the evils of sin. The ideology of reward and punishment as a result of certain types of behavior is woven into the texts of the readers. However, the imbedded notion of impending death as seen earlier in the New England Primer is not the focal point in the McGuffey Reader. The theme of morality holds firm in the reader as it did in the New England Primer. The Calvinist doctrine continues to hold its own in readers. The message of the following lesson informs young readers quite explicitly

the espoused tenets of thought conveyed to children who read the stories in the that others may not be aware of sinful acts that have been committed, but God knows. Self-discipline was to be learned early in life.

Oh, my God, let me do no sin.
 Aid me to do as I am bid.
 Our God can see all we do.
 God has an ear to all we say.
 Let me do no bad act.
 Let all I do, be fit for His eye.
 God can see all.
 But who can see God. Not one.
 Do not sin, for God can see you.
 Men may not see you.
 The eye of God is on you.⁷

In order to satisfy the political need to establish a cohesive social order of national unity, interwoven with a common sense of religious obligation, the McGuffey Readers assisted in promoting those tenets of thought that brought about a desired alliance between religion and politics. Clearly, God is seen as the heavenly monarch who inspires obedience. There is the notion that children can expect protection if they live in obedience to Him.⁸

Promoting Christianity and the Constitution, the McGuffey Readers at all levels strongly advocated the attributes of kindness and respect.

Little things, aye, little things
 Make up the sum of life;
 A work, a look, a single tone,
 May help to calm a strife
 A look will sometimes end a pang
 Of anguish to the heart
 A tone will often cause the tear
 In sorrow's eye to start
 One little act of kindness done,
 One little kind word spoken,
 Hath power to make a thrill of joy
 E' en a heart that's broken
 Then let us watch these little things,
 And so respect each other;
 That not a work or look or tone
 Shall wound a friend or brother.⁹

The concluding statements at the end of the First Eclectic Reader leave the children with many thoughts as to the importance of industry, responsibility, kindness and piety. The readers are informed that they will be awarded with love from their teachers if they are "good and try to learn." Children quickly learn from the messages in the readers that they will experience rewards or punishment as a result of the behavior they exhibit in the sight of God and humanity.¹⁰

The theme of idleness and its sinfulness is clearly the most recurrent theme in the whole series. There is the story of the idle school boy who after a badly spent youth in school, "often wishes that he had been more attentive to his books when young," for he now realizes that he "cannot live over again the time he has spent so badly, and he must be a poor ignorant fellow for the rest of his life." Another lesson tells the story of the bee. "The drones do not work. Before winter comes, all the drones are driven from the hive or killed, that they may not eat the honey which they did not gather." In the lesson of John who is perceived as a "little idler," children read that he doesn't like school or books and has no friends. On a very lonesome day, John can't even get the animals to play with him because they all have something to do. This makes him change his ways. "I see that all have something to do," the little idler concludes "while I am idle and good for nothing, I am not fit company even for the animals." The success of pioneer life was contingent upon labor, toil, and just plain hard work. For the McGuffey readers, there was no excellence if there was no labor. In order to bring about national unity all had work to do. As members of families, students in school as well as holding jobs in the community each individual was responsible for sharing in the work that had to be done.¹¹

The story of Henry, the boot black carries the messages of the rewards

for honesty and industry. Henry is a kind, good boy whose father was dead. He was the oldest of two children and wanted to help his mother earn enough money to buy food for the family. Henry was rewarded a dollar for returning a lost pocket-book. He used the dollar to purchase three brushes and some blacking. He found a corner to work on and polished shoes. Because of his hard work and polite manner, Henry was noticed the first day. He earned enough money to buy bread. This made his mother overwhelmingly happy. "Henry worked all day, and went to school in the evening. He earned almost enough to support his mother and his little sister."¹²

Even lessons on intemperance return to the pervasive theme of virtuous industry. A lesson entitled "The Whiskey Boy," for example, relates how John's father taught him to drink whiskey mixed with water and sugar. He soon began drinking it straight and continued over a period of time. His facial features grew quite repulsive and his former friends would no longer play with him. He ended up dying in the poorhouse. "Oh, that there was no such thing as whiskey," for whiskey brings about evil and destroys the virtue of industry, hard labor and thrift. Continuing on the theme of intemperance, another lesson entitled, "Don't Take Strong Drink," explains that, no little boy or girl should ever drink rum or whiskey unless they become drunkards." But most important, whiskey makes the happy miserable and it causes the rich to become poor.

The McGuffey Readers promoted the premise that the Christian virtues of labor, industry, temperance, honesty and goodwill carried men to various levels of success which could be witnessed by the humblest person.¹³ Help for the poor can be found in lesson after lesson. The mid to late nineteenth century, according to Channing, was characterized by an unjust distribution of wealth. Perhaps the social conscience of the middle class relieved itself from

the obvious inequalities and injustices by encouraging individuals of goodwill to indulge in honest compassion for the working classes without facing the economic implications of the problems. The McGuffey Readers apparently accepted this thesis.¹⁴

Lend a hand to one another
In the daily toil of life;
When we meet a weaker brother
Let us help him in the strife
There is none so rich but may,
In his turn be forced to borrow;
And the poor man's lot today
May become our won tomorrow.¹⁵

The story of Susie Sunbeam provides an excellent illustration of middle class compassion for the poor. The reader is informed that Susie Sunbeam was not her real name. But everyone called her Susie Sunbeam because of her sweet smile and bright personality. She was always helpful to her mother and never said an unkind word. One day Susie heard a poor little girl crying while being teased by some children because of her ragged appearance. Susie took the little girl into her house and with kind words gave her a nice dress and a pair of shoes.¹⁶

The readers portray a disdain for cruelty and the killing of animals. A strong pattern of humanitarianism is evidenced in several of the lessons. An example is in the lesson of the pet pigeon. Carrie's father kept a great number of pigeons that he sold for large sums of money. Often the pigeons that were not rare or attractive were difficult to sell and would be destroyed. Carrie had compassion for one poor special pigeon and did not allow it to be killed.¹⁷

McGuffey loved peace and denounced the horrors and bloodshed of war. A lesson that appeared in an 1857 edition tells how a man from New Hampshire and a man from Georgia, both wounded in battle recall their childhood together and forgive each other as they prepare for death.

Forgive each other while we may;
 Life's but a weary game
 And right or wrong the morning sun
 Will find us dead the same.¹⁸

Yet the Readers extol patriotism to the extent of military defense. "Do thou great liberty, inspire our souls, and make our lives in thy possession happy, or our deaths glorious in thy defence."¹⁹ The virtues emphasized in the McGuffey Readers reflect the social, religious, political and economic tenets of thought valued by the compilers and editors of the readers. The pattern of ideas in the McGuffey Readers are part of a larger pattern, steeped in the context of traditional thought in the American culture. The virtues espoused were viewed by mid-nineteenth century America as the basic underpinnings for the development of good Christians and good citizens. The virtues of honesty, kindness, industry and a general spirit of happiness and goodwill toward others are the moral messages the McGuffey Readers teach. The lessons explicitly state the intended moral. Very few leave any doubt in the readers mind as to what the desirable course of action should be. The time of the McGuffey Readers was a time when the truths of the Bible were accepted and the relevance of those truths were acknowledged as a part of everyday life. The readers were therefore filled with stories from the Bible. Even though the readers were preoccupied with religion and morality, they were also materialistic. The readers teach as highlighted in some of the earlier examples a system of rewards and punishments. Rarely was virtue its own reward.²⁰

A retrospective examination of their pages will cast a glaring spotlight on some of the tangled values of their time. The readers were selective in their endorsement of social reforms during their era (endorsing the temperance

movement, for instance but studiously avoiding the touchy issue of slavery or the trade union movement). The readers were aimed almost exclusively at a white, Protestant, middle-class audience. However, extending beyond the notable weaknesses of the McGuffey Eclectic Readers, they continue to be of value today, if for no other reason than their symbolic importance of historical artifacts that provide a fascinating survey of American nineteenth-century life and values.

The McGuffey Readers provide a basic framework for understanding American consensus morality and how it was taught during this period. The issues of slavery and equality were not addressed by the readers as aforementioned, nor were they concerned that the society would want children to read about. The rest of this chapter will examine late nineteenth century ideologies as they relate to equality, education and civil rights.

THE IDEOLOGY OF EQUALITY

In a general sense, schooling, textbooks, civil laws and the nineteenth century American lifestyle prescribed equality and its benefits to include those individuals or groups within the culture it tended to view itself as equal to. As we examine the issue of equality in American thought; it is here that American consensus morality takes on one meaning for white Anglo-Saxons and another meaning for those not included in that ethnic group. Nation-building through shaping the thinking of American youth was high on the list of educational priorities during the era. However, schooling meant education primarily for white middle class America.

The period under study opened with the collapse of the slave system, and closed with a Supreme Court decision that killed federal legislation designed to confer upon a newly emancipated people, the political, civil, and social status that only free whites had hither to enjoyed.²¹

Popular conceptions about race were still the major obstacle to any attempts to improve the status of the blacks. The assumption that they were in all respects hopelessly inferior to whites persisted except for a small minority of Americans. Josiah Strong, a Congregational clergyman and spokesman for the dominant social and religious outlook in the 1880s confidently proclaimed that racial inequality was just one more majestic demonstration of the wondrous providence of God. He stated that God decreed that baser races would gradually become extinguished to give place to the Anglo-Saxon super race. Strong's book, Our Country, sold more than 175,000 copies in 1885. The volume was praised as an outstanding work among peers and the general population. His statements expressed a point of view widely accepted among intellectuals, writers, clergymen, and educators.

It was no accident that the great reformation of the sixteenth century originated among a Teutonic, rather than a Latin people. It seems to me that God with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future. The world will enter upon a new stage of its history—the final competition of the races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled. Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it—the highest civilization—having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth. . .²²

Prior to 1865, views relating to the ideology of equality are shared in excerpts from the Lincoln—Douglas debates. Douglas presents the following statements:

I believe that this Government of ours was founded on the white basis. I believe that it was established by white men, by men of European birth, or descendants of European races, for the benefit of white men and their posterity in all time to come. I do not believe that it was the design or intention of the signers of the Declaration of Independence or the framers of the Constitution to include negroes, indians, or other inferior races, with white men,

as citizens. The Declaration of Independence only included white people of the United States.²³

Abraham Lincoln responded by speaking of equality in terms of a comprehensive humanity. However, he states that negroes are "not our equals in color."

I adhere to the Declaration of Independence. If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it, let them come up and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal except negroes. Let us have it decided whether the Declaration of Independence in this blessed year of 1858 shall be thus amended. In his construction of the Declaration last year, he said it only meant that Americans in America were equal to Englishmen in England. Then, when I pointed out to him that by the rule he excludes Germans, the Irish, the Portuguese, and all the other people who have come amongst us since the Revolution, he reconstructs his construction. In his last speech he tells us it meant Europeans. I press him a little further, and ask if it meant to include the Russians in Asia; or does he mean to exclude that vast population from the principles of our Declaration of Independence? I expect before long he will introduce another amendment to his definition. He is not at all particular. He is satisfied with anything which does not endanger the nationalizing of negro slavery. It may draw white men down, but it must not lift negroes up.

Lincoln further asserts:

Judge Douglas and all his friends may search the whole records of the country, and it will be a matter of great astonishment to me if they shall be able to find that one human being three years ago had ever uttered the astounding sentiment that the term 'all men' in the Declaration did not include the negro. Do not let me be misunderstood. I know that more than three years ago there were men who, finding this assertion constantly in the way of their schemes to bring about the ascendancy and perpetuation of slavery, denied the truth of it. I know that Mr. Calhoun, and all the politicians of his school, denied the truth of the Declaration. I know that it ran along in the mouth of some Southern men for a period years, ending at last in that shameful, though rather forcible, declaration of Pettit, of Indiana, upon the floor of the United States Senate, that the Declaration of Independence was in that respect, 'a self-evident lie,' rather than a self-evident truth. But I say, with a perfect knowledge of all this hawking at the Declaration without directly attacking it, that three years ago there never had lived a man who had ventured to assail it in the sneaking way of pretending to believe it and then asserting it did not include the negro.²⁴

Charles Sumner, United States Senator, wrote a letter to the Reform League, New York, 8 May 1871, sharing his views regarding slavery, equality and liberty.

My Dear Sir,—It is not in my power to be at your meeting but when I think that it will be held on the anniversary of the good old Antislavery Society, which was always so apostolic, I pay homage to the date, and thanks to you for remembering me among its friends.

Happily, Slavery is abolished; but alas; wrong is not banished from the earth, nor has it ceased to be organized in human institutions, or to be maintained by governments. . .²⁵

The above citations illustrate the ranging views of white American political and social leaders regarding the issues of equality and negro citizenship. The former perspectives represent those beliefs more closely aligned with the general population of this era.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SCHOOLING

During the rise and general acceptance of common schooling in America, a spirit of national pride developed. Educational reformers wanted to make schooling more uniform, teaching more professional and control more firmly in the hands of a state educational bureaucracy. Before and after the Civil War, education in the South lagged far behind the rest of the country. Laws throughout the South prohibited slaves from learning to read and write. A Mississippi law in 1832, made illegal the assembly of "slaves, free Negroes, or mulattos" for the purpose of reading or writing. In 1830, the Louisiana legislature passed a law stating:

. . . All persons who shall teach, or permit or cause to be taught, any slave in the State, to read or write, shall, upon conviction thereof, . . . be imprisoned.²⁶

Subsequent to the abolition of slavery, attitudes about Blacks remained

unchanged. Civil rights were becoming increasingly restricted. The belief that the darker race should be kept ignorant to preserve the traditional social, economic and cultural balance of the country was infused into the ideology of American education.²⁷ Support mobility and equality for white Americans were essential to the growth of the republic. However, American democracy for blacks was dimmed by unrelenting cruelty and the widespread practice of racism. Those who proclaimed the need for common schooling to unify and standardize education for the common man did not promote the inclusion of Black Americans.

Illiteracy among Negroes at the time of the emancipation was enormous. In the sixteen slave States, more than 95 percent could not read or write. Mass ignorance existed by the nation's own will prior to and following the emancipation of the slaves. After feeble and hesitating opposition to slave trade in some quarters, the United States proceeded to deliberately import Negroes and train them in ignorance. The unwritten law of the land was that Negroes were to receive no instruction. In the North, this custom was gradually given up. The cotton gin in the South crystalized this practice into law.

After the emancipation, a bill was introduced in Washington to the House of Representatives creating a Bureau of Emancipation which evolved in 1865 as the Freedman's Bureau. The Bureau was extremely active in the establishment of schools and virtually founded the common school system in the South. However, much opposition was encountered from those who did not believe in the elevation of the Negro. The opposition sometimes ranged from ludicrous to inhuman. The opinion held by most white Americans was that the Negro must remain in every essential respect inferior to themselves. Teachers were ill-treated, schools were burned, and threats so strong that many schools could not be opened. In rural and remote districts, danger threatened unprotected teachers. Instruction for

the most part was inferior.

The work of benevolent societies played a significant role in providing educational instruction to Negro children. Members of various societies fought hard to defend the belief that if not educated, Negroes would become the tools of demagogues and a power for evil rather than for good. These concerns led to the organization of a system of free schools in some reconstructed states.²⁸

The chief society was the American Missionary Association. The Freedmen's Union Commissions, the Freeman's Aid Society of the Methodist Church, the Baptist Home Mission Society and the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church were all key factors in penetrating the barriers of hatred among white Americans. The Catholics, Episcopalians and Friends also assisted in educating Negro children. In addition to these agencies, there was the Peabody fund and the Slater fund.

The first day school among freedmen was established on 17 September 1861, By Rev. L.C. Lockwood, a missionary with the American Missionary Association in Hampton Virginia. The little school laid the foundation for the Hampton Institute. Ironically, the school was built on the coast where, 241 years earlier, the first slave ship entered the line of the American continent.²⁹

Governments in the southern states feared idleness and social revolution on the part of the blacks. Laws were passed accordingly. Alabama declared "stubborn or refractory servants" or those who "loiter away their time" to be "vagrants," who could be hired out at compulsory service by law while all Negro minors, far from being sent to school, were to be "apprenticed," preferably to their father's former "masters and mistresses." In Florida it was decreed that no Negro could "own, use or keep a bowie-knife, sword, dirk, firearms or ammunition of any kind" without a license from the judge of probate. In South

Carolina the Legislature declared that "no person of color shall pursue the practice of, art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic or shopkeeper, or any other trade or employment besides that of husbandry or that of a servant under contract for labor until he shall have obtained a license from the judge of the district court." Mississippi required that "if a laborer shall quit the service without just cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year." Louisiana said that "every adult freed man or woman shall furnish themselves with a comfortable home and visible means of support within twenty days after the passage of this act," and that any failing to do so should "be immediately arrested," delivered to the court and "hired out by public advertisement, to some citizen, being the highest bidder, for the remainder of the year." Florida attempted partial legislation for public schools, but in few, if any Southern States was a comprehensive Education system planned from 1868 through 1876.³⁰

Common school instruction in the South was founded primarily by the Freedmen's Bureau and missionary societies. State public school systems were formed mainly by Negro reconstruction governments. Earlier state constitutions of Mississippi "from 1817 to 1865 contained a declaration that 'Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.' It was not until 1868 that encouragement was given to the public schools to embrace the whole youthful population."³¹

After the collapse of Radical Reconstruction, southern states were prompted to establish a "permanent" system of separate schools. Some early examples follow:

ALABAMA

The General Assembly shall establish, organize, and maintain a system of public education throughout the State, for the equal benefit of

the children thereof, between the ages of seven and twenty-one years; but separate schools shall be provided for the children of African descent—1875.

GEORGIA

Paragraph 1. Common Schools. There shall be a thorough system of common schools for the education of children in the elementary branches of an English education only, as nearly uniform as practicable, the expenses of which shall be provided for by taxation, otherwise. The schools shall be free to all children of the State, but separate schools shall be provided for white and colored races—1877.

MISSISSIPPI

Be it further enacted, That the schools in each county shall be so arranged as to afford ample free school facilities to all the educable youths in that county, but white and colored pupils shall not be taught in the same school-house, but in separate school-houses—1878.

The legality of separate schools for black children met and overcame its first judicial challenge in 1849, when the Supreme Court of Massachusetts denied that school segregation violated the state constitution's guarantees of equality of persons. In 1855, the city of Boston abolished the discriminatory practice, but in 1849, when the general school committee prohibited Negro children from attending schools with whites, five-year old Sara Roberts brought suit through her father, invoking an act of 1845 which forbade the exclusion of any child from the public school system. Charles Sumner, who would become United States senator, argued for the plaintiff that all persons were equal; that Massachusetts law neither created nor recognized racial distinctions; that the separate schools for Negroes were inconvenient because of their distance from the children's home; that segregation "tends to create a feeling of degradation in the blacks, and of prejudice and uncharitableness in the whites." (Sumner's arguments were prophetically similar to those which will be heard in the 1954 school segregation cases. These cases were examined later in this study.) The court, speaking through Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw in 1849 was not moved by Sumner's logic.

Conceding that colored persons are entitled by law to equal rights, the question then arises, whether the regulation in question, which provides separate schools for colored children is a violation of any of these rights. . . .

In the absence of special legislation on this subject, the law has vested the power in the committee to regulate the system of distribution and classification. The Committee, apparently upon deliberation, has come to the conclusion, that the good of both classes of schools will be best promoted by maintaining the separate primary schools for colored and white children.

It is urged that this maintenance of separate schools tends to deepen and perpetuate the odious distinction of caste, founded in a deep-rooted prejudice in public opinion. This prejudice, if it exist, is not created by law, and probably cannot be changed by law.

Justice Shaw further asserted that there is doubt as to whether compelling colored and white children to associate in the same school setting would reduce prejudice. The committee in his opinion was interested in the best education for both classes of children and the court could not say that the committee's decision was not founded on just grounds of reason and experience.³³

Twenty-two years later, the attorney for the Plaintiff, now Senator Charles Sumner, in a speech before the Senate on 8 February 1871 continued to object to the practice of separate but equal. His perspective was not widely accepted by his constituents; however, he asked his colleagues "With what consistency can you deny equal rights to a child in the school-room and then give him equal rights at the ballot box?" One is the complement of the other. Every child, white or black, had a right to be placed under the same influences, with the same teachers, in the same school-room, without any discrimination because of his color. This made a distinction because of sect. There should be no reason to make distinctions due to color. It is not enough to give him a separate school. He will not have the same education as the white child.

He went on to state that a great protection to the colored child and a

great assurance of his education, would be that he was educated on the same benches and by the same teachers with white children. "You may give him what is sometimes called an equivalent in another school; but this is not equality;" His right said Sumner was to equality and not to equivalency. Finally he asserted that Blacks will have equality when they become into the common school and find exclusion there because their skin is a different color.³⁴

PLESSY V. FERGUSON

Separation of the races was evident and accepted as part of the American cultural tradition. Fears that Blacks would overrun white employment, their neighborhoods, churches and schools, intensified the search for sanctions to justify the sequestering of the Negro. The prevailing conservative drift in legislative and judicial attitudes conspired against the advancement of the Negro. Systematically deprived of economic and social opportunities, the Negro was peculiarly defenseless and precariously dependent. The reluctance of the Supreme Court of the United States to advance minority rights, clearly apparent for a century preceding the Civil Rights Cases of 1883, persisted throughout the years. The Fourteenth Amendment due process clause in 1896 was rendered all but meaningless as a guarantee against discrimination when the Court in Plessy v. Ferguson gave its approval to the separate-but-equal doctrine. Thereafter that tribunal did not until very much later, seriously examine the equality of the separate facilities that the states could provide under the protection of the Plessy principle.

The Blacks fared no better in reaping the harvest promised by the Fifteenth Amendment than they did in garnering the fruits of the Fourteenth Amendment. It was during this era that the structure of Negro disfranchisement was primarily completed, not to be disturbed, with minor exceptions until well

into the twentieth century.³⁵

A Louisiana law of 1890 required all railway companies to provide separate accommodations either by separate cars or separate compartments, for Negroes and whites. Plessy, who was believed to be seven-eighths white, refused to leave his seat which was in a white compartment, and was arrested. The case was appealed from the Supreme Court of Louisiana to the United States Supreme Court. The latter gave its approval to the doctrine that state laws requiring separate accommodations do not offend against the equal protection clause if the separated accommodations do not offend against the equal protection clause. If the separated facilities are "substantially equal," the doctrine was destined to stand as constitutional orthodoxy until 1954. Justice Harlan alone dissented.

It is interesting to note that the majority opinion was written by Justice Brown, a Yale graduate from Michigan, while the prophetic dissenting opinion was written by a Kentuckian. The following is Justice Brown's opinion in part.

The object of the amendment [Fourteenth Amendment] was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it would not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either.

Justice Brown continued:

Laws permitting, or even requiring, (racial) separation in places where (the races) are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. . . .

Brown begins to document his argument by stating:

. . . The most common instance of this (state-sanctioned separation of the races) is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by the courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most

earnestly enforced. One of the earliest of these cases is that of Roberts v. City of Boston. . . .

Perhaps it was fitting that Justice Brown, a native of Massachusetts would stake an important part of his case on a decision made by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1849. Near the end of presentation, Justice Brown supported his claim that amounted to black paranoia.

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it.³⁶

He was further of the opinion that as long as all men were proclaimed by statute to be treated equally by the state, then they indeed were treated equally by the state. If some men felt that they were not being treated equally because the law required them to be separated from the rest of the citizenry, such feelings should be of no concern to the state. The conclusion of the court was that racially separate facilities, so long as they were equal, could be ordained legally by the state; segregation was not considered discrimination.

The one dissenting opinion was given by Justice Harlan, a former slave owner. Some students of his life and writings believe that his transformation from slaveholder to defender of man's rights is traceable to the brutalities he saw inflicted upon Negroes in his native home, Kentucky during the Post Civil War years-beatings, lynchings, terror tactics beyond any conceivable justification. Harlan rebuffed Justice Brown's suggestion that nothing malevolent was implied in the segregation law.³⁷

Everyone knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by Blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons. . . . The thing to accomplish

was, under the guise of giving equal accommodations for whites and Blacks, to compel the latter to keep to themselves while travelling in railroad passenger coaches. No one would be so wanting in candor as to assert the contrary.

Justice Harlan commented on the ravenous nature of segregation:

If a State can prescribe, as a rule of civil conduct, that whites and Blacks shall not travel as passengers in the same railroad coach, why may it not so regulate the use of the streets of its cities and towns as to compel white citizens to keep on one side of the street and black citizens to keep on the other? If this statute of Louisiana is consistent with the personal liberty of citizens, why may not the State require the separation in railroad coaches of native and naturalized citizens of the United States, or of Protestants and Roman Catholics?

After evaluating the legality of the issues confronting the Court, Justice Harlan focused on the heart of the matter:

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. . . . But in view of the constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among its citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil right as guaranteed by the supreme court of the land are involved.³⁸

Harlan prophesied that the majority opinion would stimulate brutal and irritating aggressions on the rights of Negroes and defeat the purposes of the Civil War Amendments. Nevertheless, the Court had given its approval to the dominant mores of the American community.³⁹

Negroes were separated in every possible area of activity. Negroes were segregated in trains, buses, steamboats, schools, hospitals, and places of amusement. Drinking fountains, elevators, stairways, doorways, waiting rooms, parks, toilets, pay windows, and even in churches. Some communities went to further extremes. New Orleans took time to segregate white and Negro prostitutes. White and Negroes in Atlanta Georgia were not allowed to visit the local zoo

during the same hours. Oklahoma required that telephone companies maintain separate booths for white and colored patrons. A separate world had been designed to "keep the Negro in his place." In effect, segregation would insure that white supremacy would not be shaken.⁴⁰ Despite the centuries of racial injustices, Negroes never gave up the hope that a brighter future was awaiting them somewhere on the horizon; perhaps tomorrow or next year, but they were certain that it would come.

THE BLACK RESPONSE

As a result of racial practices, Negroes, spiritually tended to strengthen their relationship with God. Their strong belief in a supreme being enabled them to transcend with dignity the inhuman treatment that was forced upon them during this era. They formed their own churches and encouraged each other through Bible reading and prayer. They wrote Negro spirituals that brought comfort and inner healing during times of oppression and disregard. They created a lifestyle that infused hope into the very fibers of the pain that they toiled with on a daily basis. Questions related to "why" were beginning to take the shape of "We Will."

The Negro church played a significant role in the advancement of their cause. The church was a many sided institution, performing a number of functions besides worship. In towns which barred Negro children from the public schools, the church hall became the classroom with deacons and elders as teachers. As the Negro church became the scene for numerous activities, it was perceived as the training ground for Negro leaders. Men and women who had practiced self-expression at church gatherings were encouraged to participate in reform activities. Negroes practiced techniques of protest and petition, and apprised the country of the colored man's stand on public issues. Children were told of

outstanding Negro men and women who contributed greatly to this country. The published poems of Phyllis Wheatly, who had been brought from Africa in 1760 when she was eight years old were shared in the Negro community as well as abroad. Negro newspapers were born. They were published with a common devotion to the principles of freedom and equality as evidenced by some of their titles: The Rights of All, Mirror of Liberty and Herald of Freedom. Invariably, the publishers of these journals experienced financial problems. Some of the periodicals were issued only a few times.

Negroes responded to the social issues of the time by taking seats as state legislators under the reconstruction government just after the Civil War. They played a dominant role as a group. The most notable group of Negroes to hold office were those who went to Congress. From eight southern states came twenty-two Negro Congressmen. The Negro Congressmen left no marks on national legislation in that their numbers were quite small and their tenure in office was short. However, as legislators, they won the praise of many.⁴¹ As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the general outlook for the Negro was not bright. However, in his traditional spirit of survival, the Negro continued to believe that a new century would dawn and with it perhaps a better day.

The end of the Civil War brought with it a sense of hope that penetrated the hearts and minds of the newly freed slaves. It affirmed a sense of pride, patriotism and esteem that resulted from the far reaching proclamation that the quest for freedom had been won. However, the victorious aftermath was short lived. The American racial ideology declared that the emancipation proclamation was written only on paper and would never possess the power to permeate the social mores of a society that viewed itself as superior. Freedom was a right that was bestowed upon those who were deemed "equal" by White Anglo-Saxon

America. Blacks were regarded as individuals who would never become worthy enough to attain such a lofty height.

The new freedom brought with it separation, segregation and despair. It also embraced discrimination laws that were created to "keep Negroes in their place." The Freedman's Bureau was born during this era, offering the promises of education, employment, health care and protection to Negroes. Yet the Supreme Court devitalized the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. America focused on nationalism and issues that concerned the upward mobility and stamina of the White Anglo-Saxon; issues that would foster his ability to exceed and excel in whatever he chose to do in life.

The teaching of morality and its benefits were widely accepted and promoted in the common schools. Children were taught that courage, conviction, kindness, truthfulness, temperance and hard work were virtues that were admired in American citizens. However, the society found it advantageous to apply these principles selectively to various individuals or groups. Racism, hatred and fear that someday the Negro would seek retribution; discrimination by law was enacted. These laws withheld from former slaves the real fruits of the emancipation by relegating the Negro to a state of marked legal and social inferiority.

Many white protestants taught that the White Anglo-Saxon male was created in the image of God and Negroes were doomed to inferiority all the days of their lives. The following excerpts provide some insight into the racial orthodoxy of many southern protestant church leaders regarding the Negro as a person and his place in the American society.

Henry Holcombe Tucker, Southern Baptist minister-educator and editor of the Christian Index, stated in March 1883:

We do not believe that "all men are created equal," as the Declaration of Independence declares them to be; nor that they will ever become equal in this world. . . . We think that our own race is incomparably superior to any other. . . . As to the Negro, we do not know where to place him; perhaps not at the bottom of the list, but certainly not near the top. We believe that fusion of two or more of these races would be an injury to all, and a still greater injury to posterity. We think that the race-line is providential, and that. . .any. . .great intermingling (of races must have its origin in sin).⁴²

Robert L. Dabney, professor at Union Theological Seminary and the University of Texas, argued that the Negro was an inferior member of the human race whom God had appointed to play a subservant role in a white-ruled church and state. He refused to sanction the ecclesiastical equality of black Presbyterians on the claim that "they were an inferior type of man, even though created in the image of God."⁴³ Dabney further opposed Virginia's system of public schools for Blacks. "Educated Negroes will not be content to continue as manual laborers, and thus white people will be forced into drudgery. I do not see any humanity in taking the Negro out of the place for which nature has fitted him, at the cost of thrusting my own kindred down into it." The professor opposed Negro schools on social as well as economic grounds. He argued that if these schools should result in elevating the black race socially, they would be a menace to the white race, because they would "only prepare the way for that abhorred fate, amalgamation."⁴⁴ Similar in his racial faith was R. N. Sledd of Virginia who served many leading southern Methodist churches in the Old Dominion. From 1878 to 1898, he was a delegate to every General Conference of his communion. At the peak of his professional career he outlined his racial theory in a notably candid essay. Sledd claimed: "Through all the ages, the Caucasian has held the highest place, and the negro the lowest in the racial scale. The former has held the mastery of the world, the latter has achieved nothing in any department of human enterprise that entitled him to a single chapter in the world's history."

The Virginia Methodist took the position that the black man would never rise to the mental and moral level of the Caucasian man. On the other hand, "the white man would never descend to the level of the black man. He will suffer extinction with infinite grace than to give his consent to be accounted no better than a negro." The education of Blacks was not a concern in that: "Blacks are incapable of a high degree of intellectual development. The common school has failed either to instill in them right moral principles or to eradicate their many vicious traits and criminal tendencies."⁴⁵

One of the foremost advocates of racial segregation was Richard H. Rivers, a professor of moral philosophy at Wesleyan College in Florence, Alabama. In his Elements of Moral Philosophy, first published in 1859, was his communion's standard work in ethics. The book was revised in 1871. Its widespread denominational appeal is evidenced by the fact that between 1887 and 1890 it was reprinted three times. Now that slavery had been abolished, Rivers maintained, "the duties of white to Blacks are no longer the duties of master of slaves. They are, however, the duties of superiors to inferiors."⁴⁶ Rivers further indicated that the Caucasian race was superior "until the ages shall cease." he remarked: "The inferiority of the Negro is so marked; there is no more prospect of its being removed than of the Ethiopian's changing his skin." According to Rivers, when separated from whites, Blacks tended to revert to the barbarism of Africa. It was the duty of whites, he added "to endeavor to prevent this reversion." Yet that duty did "not include social equality," for social equality "implies intermarriages, and must bring with it all the horrible consequences of miscegenation."⁴⁷

This racial ideology was viewed as a basis for segregation in the schools. Therefore, education was not perceived as a need for children of color. The

Negro being unable to attend schools with whites formed his own schools. Some schools became forerunners to the Historical Black Colleges while others failed, due to untrained teachers and in some instances the actual fear of death. The principles that applied to Plessy, legalized school segregation well into the middle of the twentieth century.

When examining the nineteenth century White Anglo-Saxon view of American consensus morality, we can explain the fundamental belief in millennialism on the one hand and the rationale for the rejection and persecution on the Negro on the other. Many whites perceived themselves as having found favor with God. This favor entitled them to be superior to all other races. Basic moral questions regarding the issues of what is real, what is true and what is good in life were determined by how white Americans perceived them for their best interest. Given the belief that this inherent superiority was their divine right, they further had the right to enjoy the luxury of a lifestyle that was meant for only them. Their equals were other White Anglo-Saxon; for them, this was "mankind." The Negro was a lesser being. He was one to be contended with by "keeping him in his place."

NOTES

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5. Harvey C. Minnich, William Holmes McGuffey and His Readers, (New York: American Book Co., 1936), 42.
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10. McGuffey's Second Alternate Reader, (Cincinnati, Ohio: American Book Co., 1889) 139-40.
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CHAPTER THREE

LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

AMERICAN CONSENSUS MORALITY AND EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGIES: 1896-1918

The poison of racism flourished as never before throughout the land. It had infected the entire country, rural, urban, North and South. Segregation and racism was openly acknowledged as official policy of the United States government soon after the first Southern-born President since the Civil War took office in 1913, Thomas Woodrow Wilson. The black man in America had reason to lament over his condition. He was "free" but was despised, rejected and ridiculed at every turn. The overt racism was stronger than it had ever been, even during slavery.

Justice Harlan who so eloquently gave the only dissenting opinion in Plessy v. Ferguson proved capable of turning a deaf ear to the plight of black Americans in the Supreme Court Case of Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education. Three years after Plessy was decided, the Supreme Court had before it for the first time a case involving separate schools for white and black children. In 1899, Richmond County, Georgia, the board of education had three high schools, one for white males students, another for white female students and one for Negroes. Determining that there were too many black children of grade-school age to be accommodated in the existing buildings, the board decided to solve the problem by turning the Negro high school into a grade school. The Negro students in Richmond County had no high school to attend. The students went to court to plead their case and prevent the operation of any white high school in the county until Negro students were provided with equal facilities, as required by the opinion in Plessy. The Court upheld the school board:

It was said at the argument that the vice in the common school system of Georgia was the requirement that the white and colored children of the state be educated in separate schools. But we need not consider that question in this case. No such issue was made in pleadings. . . . While all admit that the benefits and burdens of public taxation must be shared by citizens without discrimination against any class on account of their race, the education of people in schools maintained by state taxation is a matter belonging to the respective states, and any interference on the part of Federal authority with the management of such schools cannot be justified except in the case of a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the supreme law of the land. We have here no such case to be determined.¹

There was no dissenting opinion. The opinion of the Court was written by Justice John Marshall Harlan. The Court supported the views of segregation and racism that was so deeply imbedded in the fabric of the American culture.

EXPRESSIONS OF AMERICAN MORALITY

Some American whites viewed themselves as the elect of the earth, to whom the Almighty had given the "heathen" for an inheritance. Evidence supporting this ideology will be examined throughout this chapter. The consensus among many southern whites was that their harsh treatment of the Negro was justified. The pronouncement of inferiority, coupled with treatment of contempt and ridicule, the Negro was taught to expect nothing but injustice from his adversaries. His condition was nothing more than deplorable.²

White Americans justified their actions toward the Negro by blaming God and nature for the Negro's condition. A classic example of literature written to support widely held racial views is found in a volume published in 1900. The author maintains the position that the Negro is not human. He contends that the Negro is an ape. The writer declares that the white man's lustful association with the animal brought about the original sin.

. . . It follows that the Negro is the only anthrpoid, or man-like ape; and that the gibbon, ourang, chimpanzee and gorilla are merely negro-like apes. Hence, to recognize the Negro as a man and a brother, one would declare man an ape. Thus the modern Christian, like the atheist, takes man, whom God created in his own image, and takes the Negro, whom God made, after his kind. . . the ape kind. . . and places them in the same family, as different races of one species of animal . . .

. . . It seems plain that in addition to his general plan of salvation, God devised a great plan for development of the resources of the earth. That the execution of this plan was entrusted to man, who designed to perform the mental labor. That the beasts or apes should furnish in the Negro, the creature which in the capacity of the servant, should perform the manual labor.³

In William Benjamin Smith's book, The Color Line, the alarmed author refers to Theodore Roosevelt's invitation and hospitality to Booker T. Washington at the White House with great disdain. Smith illustrates the general feelings of society regarding the Negro in the following excerpt: "If the barrier between two streams flowing side by side is removed, they immediately begin to mingle their molecules." The moment the bar of absolute separation is withdrawn in the South, that becomes the fatal moment when the bloom of her spirit is blighted forever. The promise of her destiny and the proud fabric of her future will slip into dust and ashes. As a race, the Southern Caucasian would become irreversibly doomed. Flood, fire, fever, famine, the sword, even ignorance, indolence, and carpet-baggery could be endured and conquered while her blood remains pure. Once the well-spring of her life is tainted; all is lost, even honor itself. "It is this immediate jewel of her soul that the South watches with such dragon eye, that she guards with more than vestal vigilance, with a circle of perpetual fire."⁴

G. Stanley Hall, holder of the nation's first Ph.D. in psychology, founder of the psychological laboratory at the Johns Hopkins University in 1883, founder of the "American Journal of Psychology" in 1887, first president of the American

Psychological Association in 1891 and president of Clark University from 1899 to 1919, shares his views which reflect the ideology of Social Darwinism which is popular as well as controversial during this era. He promotes the notion that nature had planned for certain racial groups to be inferior. The Negro being inferior had been selected by nature to take on lesser roles in society until perhaps his possible extinction. In a presentation in 1905 to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Hall stated that:

In history, no two races differ so much in their traits, both physical and psychic, as the Caucasian and the African. The color of the skin and the crookedness of the hair are only the outward signs of many far deeper differences, including cranial and thoracic capacity, proportions of body, nervous system, glands and secretions, temperament, disposition, character, longevity, instincts, customs, emotional traits, and diseases. All these differences, as they are coming to be better understood, are seen to be so great as to qualify if not imperil every inference from one race to another, whether theoretical or practical, so that what is true and good for one is often false and bad for the other.⁵

The racial ideology of hate became so ingrained in the minds of many white Americans that it resulted in massive lynchings over the years.

TABLE 1
COLORED MEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL⁶

1885	78	1898	102
1886	71	1899	84
1887	80	1900	107
1888	95	1901	107
1889	95	1902	86
1890	90	1903	86
1891	121	1904	83
1892	155	1905*	60
1893	154	1906*	60
1894	134	1907*	60
1895	113	1908*	80

1896	80	1909	73
1897	122	1910**	<u>50</u>
			Total 2,425

*Estimated.

**Estimated to date.

Source: The Crisis, Vol. 1, (1911), 26.

If blood be the price of liberty,
 If blood be the price of liberty,
 If blood be the price of liberty,
 Lord God, we have paid in full.⁷

- Anonymous

The invasion of Social Darwinism in American thought resulted in a litany of studies and literature centering around natural selection and the species of man. The studies discussed specific implications regarding the Negro. Articles and books were written about the Negro as a "man or beast," his immoral acts of conduct, being the son of Ham. His relationship to the human family, racial traits and tendencies, the size of his cranium as compared to the size of his genitals, the extinction of the Negro, his corruptible nature, his innate desire to rape white women, his kinship with apes, the product of the original sin, etc. These concepts, beliefs and fears became interwoven into the fibers of American culture. The racial ideology that emerged, justified the American rationale to segregate and if possible, eliminate the Negro from all aspects of American life. Dejure segregation in education would insure and sustain the Negro's inability to move into the cultural mainstream.

EDUCATIONAL VIEWS: AN EXPRESSION OF AMERICAN THOUGHT

The ideology of promoting education for Negroes was an issue that was in direct opposition to the majority culture's beliefs in the Negro's ability to

learn as well as the culture's desire to allow him passage into the mainstream of American life. The philosophy of American education reflected the society's social, scientific and political views of man. We will examine first the educational ideology of the period under study. Next we will examine the relationship of that ideology to schooling for Negroes.

Educational goals at the turn of the century focused on the expectations and desired educational achievements to be attained by white middle-class students. The following expressions are examples of American thought presented by school district officials at the National Education Association's Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting which assembled 6 July 1897.

In his address to conference attendees, James Forshay, Superintendent of Schools, Los Angeles, Cal., stated that:

The first work of the school is to make American citizens; and to that end the modern education is placing great stress upon teaching the obligation and duties of citizenship; not only in higher grades, but in the lower grades also. The children of today are the hope of the nation; and those who have the administration of school affairs have realized the necessity of teaching them to be loyal and devoted to their country's interests. They are taught not only to read and study the constitution, but to realize their obligations to support and defend it. They understand that this nation is a grand and noble co-operative association, and that they are soon to be members of this association, entitled to all its privileges and subject to all its responsibilities.⁸

Charles R. Skinner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction in New York and President of the National Education Association, paints the goals of education in broad brush strokes. In his speech, "The Best Education for the Masses," Skinner compares his beliefs in the republic to those of Aristotle. "A state can be no better than the citizen's of which it is composed. The foundation of every state is in the education of its youth." He further declares that Napoleon believed

that "public instruction should be the first object of government: "Seek ye first the education of the people, and all other blessings will be added unto ye." He concurs with President William McKinley's position that "This nation, if it would continue to lead in the race of progress and liberty, must do it through the intelligence and conscience of its people." Skinner proclaims to the audience of educators that the policy of "keeping subjects ignorant" in order to make them submissive has stepped aside to give rise to the concerns for educating all people in order to preserve liberty, to enforce law, to develop manhood and womanhood, and to perpetuate the blessings of good government. Free common schools he asserts, are all over the country. High schools and academies, schools for professional and technical training as well as colleges and universities offer their privileges to all who seek them. "Two centuries of educational growth, unmatched in the history of the world! What glorious changes! What wonderful strides! Open schools, free to all, evidences the highest type of advanced civilization."⁹

The philosophical rhetoric regarding education for the masses posits the belief that the masses attending common schools must be provided with the broadest and best education that the school system can administer. Enlightenment of the masses will enable the nation to realize the full possibilities of its citizens. Educational leaders stated that if the masses were not properly educated, the country would become dominated by a government of the ignorant. In order to be ruled by intelligence, wisdom, justice and reason, the first concern of government should be education.

The reality of being a recipient of the kind of education that was aforementioned was neither a reality for the Negro nor a remote possibility. Educational ideals that were being promoted to strengthen the economic, social

and political platforms of the nation excluded the people of color. Edmund James, President of the University of Illinois in 1910 stated: "The condition of American education today is in many respects a national reproach. In no other nation claiming to be civilized is there at the present time so large a population in such educational degradation as the American Negro."¹⁰

In a report at the Sixth Annual Negro Conference at Atlanta University in 1901, T. J. Bell, representing the Negro Common School Committee stated that less than one million of the three million Negro children of school age were in regular school attendance. An additional concern was that those children who did attend a school regularly, attended Negro schools, whose sessions only lasted a few months. His report indicated that contrary to the goals and ideals set forth for white middle-class children, the nation was deliberately "rearing millions of citizens in ignorance." Further, the Negro's rights of citizenship by educational qualifications were being limited. Half of the black youth of the land had no hope of opportunities to learn how to read or write. The State had gone so far as to punish a man for his ignorance in the electoral process by withholding the right of the ballot, when the ignorance was due to the neglect of the State. Bell asserted that the establishment of a public school system adequate to meet the needs of all citizens irrespective of race or color must be the first fundamental step to any legislation intended to safeguard the nation against crime and the ballot against abuse by the illiterate.¹¹

In the area of Negro rights to education, a committee of Georgia Negroes in 1900 addressed a petition to the State legislature which said in part:

The underlying principle of the free common school system is that the education of the citizens of a commonwealth is not merely a

private matter; that simply because a human being is born poor or humble or black is no adequate reason why he should be deprived of a chance to make himself a useful member of society. On the contrary, poverty, hereditary weakness or racial differences are rather additional grounds for increased effort on the part of the State to supplement these defects. Nor is this duty of public education a matter of mere charity or almsgiving; it is, first, a wise measure of self-defense to guard the State against the errors and crimes of sheer ignorance. No system of education can insure wisdom and virtue and truth, but it cannot for a moment be denied that the nations and States that have fostered the common schools are leading civilization today.¹²

The committee further stated that Georgia was in need of intelligence and the cultivation of brains, whether in black or white heads. Those who oppose this view, the committee implied, are of the opinion that the Negro common school is a burden rather than a great work of public utility. Negroes responding to the opposition of whites to the Negro common included in their rationale for educating Blacks, the basic philosophy for which white Americans held as truths regarding education for white children: "The history of the world have proven that an intelligent, contented working class is the greatest possession of a nation. No effort or expense is in the end too great for the accomplishment of this result." The committee's petition to the legislature for support of common schooling for Negroes focused on the ability of the Negro to make a significant contribution to the State of Georgia if given the opportunity to become educated. "The rise of one man does not involve the fall of his neighbor. The education of the black boy is not a burden or a menace to the white boy. The greater single agency to transform ignorance into intelligence is the Negro common school." However, white Americans had difficulty dispensing with the hate, fear and racial prejudice that would allow them to accept the notion of the Negro being a respected member of society. The idea that the Negro could become a citizen

with full rights, equal to the White Anglo-Saxon was incomprehensible to some and sheer blasphemy to others.¹³

Blacks were expected to fit into the white man's world by conforming to the rules and restrictions that informed him that his citizenship in America was less than desired. Theodore Roosevelt expressed his sentiments regarding the Negro's role in society: "His (the Negro) one great safety lies in steadily keeping in view that the law of service is the great law of life."¹⁴ He, too, perceived the Negro as being at a lower stage of racial evolution. Perhaps his views provide an explanation for his invitation of Booker T. Washington, President of Tuskegee Institute to confer with him at the White House. Washington was seen as a conformist. "He accommodated white America and agreed with many of the majority held views of his racial group." His prevailing view of education for blacks was that blacks would have to accept the harsh fact that education had to accommodate itself to the realities of inequality in the economic as well as the social and political worlds. As a leading Black spokesman for "industrial education" of the period, he attracted large sums of money from northern philanthropic foundations. Vocational education, rather than higher education was seemingly more acquiescent to white America's view of the black man's role in society; that of service and manual labor.

W. E. DuBois, after 1900, began to attack Booker T. Washington for accepting a segregated second class citizenship. He became outraged at the type of educational program that Washington promoted for Blacks. On behalf of fellow blacks, DuBois pressed vigorously for an intellectually rigorous education that would prepare young people for Black leadership. He believed that through education, the bonds of inequality and segregation could be broken.¹⁵

An account from a Negro teacher provides a glimpse of what could possibly be considered the "best" education for Negro children attending a Negro common school.

The colored school is run and governed by the town council. They are to furnish the school, but do little. We have a very small house with seven windows and one door. The furniture includes one table, 2 chairs, one stove, twenty desks, 3 common size blackboards, one clock and a chart. The people are about all farmers. We have eighty-nine students. The course of study for the first year is the chart and busy work, Baldwin's first, second, third, fourth and fifth combine reader. The farthest advanced class is studying Sanford Arithmetic, Reed and Kellogg's grammar, intermediate Baldwin's fourth and fifth reader and Maury's geography, advance Hansel History of the United States. We have two teachers. I get \$20. The assistant gets \$15. The school runs eight calendar months, which is divided into two terms, spring and fall. We work very hard for the upbuilding of our colored race. Neither one of us know very much, but we are teaching.¹⁶

Education for Negro students had been rudimentary in that many whites were convinced that the Negro was not as academically able as his white counterpart. The American ideal of equality did not apply to the education of Negro students. One widely accepted opinion during this period was the notion that the Negro's education should prepare him for entry into service oriented jobs. In spite of the practice of racial separation in education and in other facets of life, America continued to portray itself as a model country, representing democracy and freedom for all citizens. Basic to the concept of equality is how white America views itself in relationship to other racial groups. As we examine the contents of American consensus morality, the ideology of equality unfolds in every aspect of American life.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS APPROVED

Plessy v. Ferguson related to segregation on railroads. However, the application of the court decision was translated to mean that under the separate-

but-equal doctrine, that a private college could not instruct white and black students together. Moreover, separate educational facilities in tax supported public schools systems would suffer no censure from the Supreme Court.

In the case of Berea College v. Kentucky, the state found that the biracial schools could teach members of both races at the same time only if they were taught separately in classes at least twenty-five miles apart. Berea sued. The case went before the Supreme Court of the United States. The state of Kentucky sent a brief that resolved:

If the progress, advancement and civilization of the twentieth century is to go forward, then it must be left, not only to the unadulterated blood of the Anglo-Saxon-Caucasian race, but to the highest types of geniuses of that race. . .¹⁷

The opinion of the Supreme Court was:

The education of the people in schools maintained by state taxation is a matter belonging to the respective states, and any interference on the part of Federal authority with the management of such schools cannot be justified except in the case of a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the supreme law of the land. We have here no such case to be determined; and as this view disposes of the only question which the court has jurisdiction to review and decide, the judgment is affirmed.¹⁸

There were two indictments against Berea College. The Madison circuit court alleged that there were infractions of an act of Legislature, approved 22 March 1904, entitled "An act to prohibit white and colored persons from attending the same school." The first indictment, which was numbered six thousand nine on the circuit court calendar, 1906, charged appellant with operating a school for white and negro students in violation of the act. The second indictment, which was numbered, 6,045, charged the appellant in 1908 of "maintaining and operating a college, school, and institution of learning where persons of white

and negro races are both received, and within a distance of twenty-five miles of each other."

In 1906, the circuit court maintained that:

The question is one of difference, not of superiority, or inferiority. Why the Creator made one black and the other white, we know not; but the fact is apparent, and the races distinct, each producing its own kind, and following the peculiar law of its constitution. Conceding equality, with natures as perfect and rights as sacred, yet God has made them dissimilar, with those natural instincts and feelings which He always imparts to his creatures when He intends that they shall not overstep the natural boundaries he has assigned to them. The natural law which forbids their intermarriage, and that social amalgamation which leads to a corruption of the races, is as clearly divine as that which imparted them different natures. The tendency of intimate social intermixture is to amalgamation, contrary to the law of races. The separation of the white and black races upon the surface of the globe is a fact equally apparent.¹⁹

The state and federal courts consistently reiterated in these years that the police power, a state's inherent authority to legislate for the protection and promotion of the health, safety, morals, welfare and convenience of its inhabitants, was sufficient warrent for separate-school laws. The Kansas Supreme Court however, took the position in Williams v. Board of Education of City of Parsons, that considerations of public health, safety, and convenience could also compel the courts to set aside the segregation principle on equal protection grounds.

The plaintiff, D. A. Williams, petitioned the Supreme Court of Kansas on 12 December 1908 to allow his children to attend the Lincoln School where they were previously enrolled. The board of education changed school boundaries and mandated that the Williams children attend a school a mile and half from their home to a ward designated and known to have the schoolhouse for colored children. The school was located on a piece of ground bounded on the east by the tracks of the main line of the Missouri Kansas and Texas Railway Company,

on the west by the tracks of the Osage division of that railway, and on the north by the tracks of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad. In order for the plaintiff's children to attend the school, now required by the board of education, the children had to travel over thirteen tracks of the main line of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company, over which more than one hundred trains pass daily, and across three tracks of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway, over which eight trains pass daily, and the passage of such and the switching of cars incident to the operation of these railroads obstruct the crossings over which the children must travel, so that their lives were imperiled, and they were often so delayed as to make it impossible to determine when they should leave home in order to arrive at school at the proper time.

The school was in such proximity to the tracks that the noise and confusion from ringing bells, whistles blowing and the mere passage of numerous trains throughout the day, greatly interfered with their studies in school. Because of the perils, noises and confusion incident to this situation, the long distance that the children were compelled to travel, and unavoidable delays at the street crossings where they were compelled to stand in all kinds of weather, the children of the plaintiff were practically excluded from attending the public schools of the city without endangering life and limb. The schoolhouse in this particular case was selected to be placed on the described site after the various railroad tracks were built. The plaintiff was called upon to choose between a violation of the law and the risk of a fine or imprisonment by refusing to send his children to school, as provided in the act compelling such attendance.

The Supreme Court of Kansas interpreted the law and ruled as follows:

Where the location of a school is such as to substantially deprive

a part of the children of the district to any educational facilities, it is manifest that this equality is not maintained, and the refusal to furnish such privileges, where it is practicable to do so, is an abuse of discretion for which the courts will afford a remedy. Circumstances may exist where the absence of such privileges is practically unavoidable. It is possible that a family or several families may be located so that no school is accessible, but the facts here stated do not present such an emergency. If it exists, or if for reasons not disclosed in the alternative writ it is practicable for these children to attend the school provided by the board, such facts with any other matter of defense may be pleaded. In deciding this motion we only hold that upon the facts stated in plaintiff is entitled to relief by mandamus, not necessarily, however, to admit his children to Lincoln School, as requested, but to some school where they will have the privileges given to them by the laws. The motion to quash the alternative writ is overruled.²⁰

In deciding the case of Williams V. Board of Education, reference was made to Reynolds v. Board of Education. William Reynolds in 1903 tried to enroll his son in a school set aside for whites only in Topeka. He was refused and brought suit against the board of education. The Supreme Court of Kansas citing Plessy, Roberts v. City of Boston, and numerous other state cases upholding school segregation, unanimously told Mr. Reynolds that Topeka was well within its rights to separate schools for white and black children.²¹

School segregation had become law in America. However, critical to the development of young minds within the walls of the American school was the content of what children were being taught. The school text held a significant position in American education in that the textbook in thousands of classrooms determined the content of instruction and provided the learner with independent thinking.

There is probably no better place than a schoolroom to judge the character of a people, or to find an explanation of their national peculiarities. Whatever faults or weaknesses may be entailed upon them will show themselves there without the hypocrisy of advanced age, and whatever virtue they may possess is reflected without a mixture of vice and corruption. In so humble a place as a schoolroom may be read the commentaries on the past, and the history of the future development of a nation.²²

SCHOOLBOOKS AND RACIAL IDEOLOGY

To discover what ideas were held by the ordinary man in any period of history, one examines the books most widely read apart from the Bible. The books most widely read after the civil war and during the turn of the century were schoolbooks written by printers, journalists, teachers, ministers, and future lawyers earning their way through college. The process utilized to infuse the decided political, economic, social cultural and moral concepts into the minds of the American was through its youth. Schoolbooks helped to form the American view of the past, present and the possible future of man. The authors of schoolbooks created and solidified American traditions. Their choices of what they admired in the past and present, as well as what they hoped would be preserved for the future, were likely to be the first formal evaluation of man and his works to which the American child was exposed. Schoolbooks delineated for him an idealized image both of himself and of the history that had produced the highly esteemed American prototype.

Schoolbooks published after the Civil War accept without question the freedom of slaves, and with hindsight, the writers and compilers of textbooks condemn wholeheartedly the institution of slavery. Inherent qualities assigned to the Negro are the same degrading ones accorded to him in the pre-Civil War period, and his future remains a matter for gloomy speculation. Slavery during this period is universally condemned and its demise is celebrated. The schoolbooks rejoice over the abolition of an institution "so repugnant to the principles of Christianity, and so fraught with danger to society, religion and the state."²³

The free Negro appears in very few of the pre-Civil War books. Interestingly enough, in books published after the Civil War, little more notice

is taken of the free Negro than before the Civil War. He appears now and then as a soldier fighting with the Union for his own freedom, and fighting effectively.

At the end of the century, Booker T. Washington appears as a self-made man. The moral of his biography is that the progress of the Negro is inevitable. However, whites must be at the forefront to give guidance. There is a virtual lack of consciousness of the Negro in schoolbooks through the turn of the century.²⁴

Unaided, the Negro will remain uncivilized is the central theme in the discussion of the Negro's plight in textbooks and periodicals. Sociology students could examine the social implication and welfare of the Negro as observed by the following writer in her article "A Suggestion On The Negro Problem."

Transfusion of blood is a simple matter compared with the transfusion of civilization; yet that is precisely what is going on between us and the Negro race.

We have to consider the unavoidable presence of a large body of aliens, of a race widely dissimilar and in many respects inferior, whose present status is to us a social injury. If we had left them alone in their own country this dissimilarity and inferiority would be, so to speak, none of our business.

There are other races, similarly distinguished, whose special standing in racial evolution does not embarrass us; but in this case it does . . . He is here; we can't get rid of him; it is all our fault; he does not suit us as he is; what can be done to improve him?²⁴

In the area of history, post-Civil War History written by a Southerner for Southern schools sees no need to quarrel with Northerners' prognosis of the future of the Negro: "The systemic training bestowed upon him during his period of servitude, and his contact with higher intelligence have given to the Negro an impulse to civilization that neither his inherent inclinations nor his native environment would of themselves bestow." The serious humanitarian efforts of the white race will make it possible for the Negro race to improve; if any

improvements can be made. Negroes do not contain within themselves the seeds of cultural advancement.²⁶

Students influenced by the publications of this period would not see the Negro as a participant in or a contributor to American culture. The abolition of slavery would be viewed as a righteous act that removed a serious problem from his civilization. The mere fact that the slaves were emancipated would absolve the whites from any debt to the Negro as an equal. The Negro being incapable of self-control and self-direction, the white student would assume that some responsibility for the care of the Negro would by necessity fall upon the white race. The idea of Negro racial inferiority can be seen throughout the literature when any implicit or explicit references are made about his character, ability to be responsible or his intelligence.

The following excerpt from a social studies textbook provides a sample of how the Negro is portrayed to students in a third grade classroom:

"Now, let us look at Africa," said Mary. "Here it is, at the south of Europe. It is next in size to Asia, but we do not know so much about it. Because of this, it has been called the 'Dark Continent.'

Africa is the country of the Negro race. Tribes of savages abound in the interior, and they are constantly at war with one another.

Negroes do not wear much clothing. Some of them have only a strip of cloth around the waist. They are fond of bright colors, and they wear the gayest things they can get. . . .

The Negroes do not live in villages and towns and work for their bread as we do. They like better to spend their time in hunting and fighting.

Travellers who have seen black men in their own land tell us that the Negro does not like to work, and that he would rather lie on the ground and bask in the sun.

Negroes carry their burdens on their heads. Here is a picture of some Negroes carrying the goods of a white traveller who is exploring their country.²⁷

THE BLACK RESPONSE

While the ideology of separate but equal rang out in the court room, the praises of America (white America) resounded in classrooms across the country, creating cognitive dissonance for many young Negroes who believed literally in the words of the Declaration of Independence. "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal." Not understanding the full meaning of being "the white man's burden," Negro children also sang the words to Samuel F. Smith's "America" and the freedom it holds for each citizen, everyday in school.

My country, 'tis of thee, / Sweet land of liberty, / Of thee I sing;
/ Land where my fathers died, / Land of the pilgrims' pride, / From
every mountain-side, / Let freedom ring.²⁸

The Negro as we have earlier seen, in the areas of schooling, civil rights and the number of lynchings was denied full rights and privileges as an American citizen. He was the subject of terror and violence. The Negro was kept in a state of inferiority in a culture that taught him that the best possible contribution he could make to America would be to remain servile in thoughts and deeds to the white man and his goals.

As a rationalization to the response of blacks who complained of their plight in America, a curious logic was used to "keep blacks in their place." The argument was as follows: White men alone are men. The Negro wants to be a man. Therefore, he wants to be a white man. According to whites, the Negro's desire to be treated as a human being indicated that he bitterly resented his own blood. Segregation and numerous other devices made the drive for Negro equality a slow and painful process. At first only a handful of dedicated clergymen fought on behalf of "an outraged, heartbroken, bruised and bleeding, but God-

fearing people."²⁹ Paul Laurence Dunbar expresses through poetry the inner feelings of many Negroes.

We Wear the Mask / We wear the mask that grins and lies, / It
hides our cheeks and shades our eyes, / This debt we pay to human
guile; / With torn and bleeding hearts we smile, / And mouth with
myriad subtleties.

Why should the world be otherwise, / In counting all our tears and
sighs? / Nay, let them only see us, while We wear the mask.

We smile, but, O great Christ, our cries / To Thee from tortured
souls arise. / We sing, but oh, the clay is vile / Beneath our feet,
and long the mile; / But let the world dream otherwise, / We wear
the mask.³⁰

During this period, the black American responded to his plight in numerous ways. Negroes founded and published periodicals focusing on the Black experience in America: Alexander's Magazine, : (1905-1909), Colored American Magazine, (1900-1909), Competitor, (1920-1921), Chicago Defender, (1900-), Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races, (1910-1940), Half-Century Magazine, (1916-1925), Journal of Negro History, (1916-), and Voice of the Negro, (1904-1907).³¹ During this period, W. E. B. DuBois published The Souls of Black Folks. The book criticized Booker T. Washington's policy of relying on the good will of Southern white and attacked the disfranchisement and segregation which it had failed to stop. He encouraged Negro leaders to demand the rights pledged in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was born. It was an outgrowth of the "Niagara Movement." In 1905, W. E. B. DuBois and about thirty followers most of whom were college educated met in Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada (because the hotels in Niagara Falls, New York, were segregated). He announced a plan to develop a program based upon the

principles of human brotherhood, freedom of speech, criticism, and the exercise of all rights without regard to race. He urged his followers to protest at every opportunity the treatment of Negroes. The Niagara Movement demanded that the Fourteenth Amendment be carried out to the letter.³²

The NAACP organized men and women of all races and classes to assist in halting the practices of widespread racism. The association encouraged education and efforts for social uplift; the dissemination of literature; the holding of public meetings; the maintenance of a lecture bureau; the encouragement of vigilance committees; the investigation of complaints; the maintenance of a Bureau of Information; the publication of The Crisis, which collected facts and published issues concerning the people of color.³³

The NAACP organized a Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Cases were argued before the Supreme Court of the United States from 1915 to 1958. Data collected reveals that the association successfully pleaded the Negro's cause in more than fifty major cases affecting the franchise, residential segregation, restrictive covenants, public education, interstate and local transportation, recreation, due process and equal protection controversies. Nearly every major courtroom triumph for the race during these years was accomplished through the NAACP.

The National Urban league was founded in 1910. It was viewed as more conciliatory than the NAACP. The league was sometimes characterized as the Negro rights movement's State Department while the NAACP was seen as the race's War Department. It published a national periodical, "Opportunity," which coined the phrase "Not alms, but opportunity," as its motto. The league labored to win better employment, education and an overall increase in the standard of living for Negroes. It developed welfare services for children (day nurseries),

cooperated with law enforcement agencies to reduce juvenile delinquency and pushed for neighborhood playgrounds and public housing. It played the role of conciliator and mediator, dedicated to the promotion of good will between the races as a means for creating new opportunities for the disadvantaged Negro in a white man's world.³⁴

A number of events occurred during the period under study that assisted in strengthening the Black response to America and the evolution of equality in American thought. The founding of the Freedman's Bureau provided educational assistance for Blacks. Between 1865 and 1870, more than two thousand six hundred schools were created for Negroes in the South. The institution of the Peabody Fund during this time provided additional assistance to young Black Americans residing in portions of the South that were considered to be located in destitute areas. Funding was earmarked for manual and industrial training along with moral education. Greenwood Peabody stated that "the mind of the Negro is not hampered either by tradition or self-esteem, he is impressionable and imitative. The Negro could easily be educated and taught a habit of restraint." Citing what he termed were demonstrated Black characteristics under the "peculiar institution," Peabody contended; "even slaveholders could count on the docility and loyalty of the Negroes under conditions from which other races would have rebelled." He added, "The same traits, steadied by liberty and guided by affection, make of the Negro students the most plastic material for education."³⁵

The founding of Black colleges in the South during this period further assisted the Negro in his educational aspirations. Blacks living in the North and South were not able to attend institutions of higher learning in the South (See appendix). Legislation that was designed to aid in the improvement of education

for Negroes also strengthened the doctrine of "separate but equal." The Negro had his own educational institutions in the South and there was no need for him to seek an education outside of the institutions that had been established for him. The contributions of government and philanthropic societies were considerable accomplishments, given the mood and temper of the times. The American Negro Academy was organized on March 5, 1897 by the Rev. Alexander Crummell, a black theologian and educator. The American Negro Academy was the first body in America to bring black scholars from all over the world together. The purpose of the organization was to foster scholarship and culture in the black race and encourage budding black genius. Upon Crummell's death in 1908, DuBois was elected President. He stated that those with higher education must be instrumental in taking the responsibility for uplifting the black race. Many brilliant papers were published.

The New York legislature, under the governorship of Theodore Roosevelt, in 1900 passed an act providing that no one should be denied admittance to any public school on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. James Weldon Johnson and his brother J. Rosamond, in 1900 composed "Lift Every Voice and Sing," The Negro National Anthem. Founding of The Anna T. Jeanes Fund in 1902 to provided for the development of quality instruction in rural black schools. The Association for the Study of Negro History was founded in 1915.³⁶ There were a number of changes that took place in the American culture during the period with the legislature, the building of black colleges and universities, the movement of Blacks to the North to increase their chances for employment and better living conditions, preparation for the war, the draft, philanthropic overtures from some segments of white America to assist in social

of the innocent blood that was shed by thousands of black people in "this land of liberty." Negroes he said, "should never confess that by the nature of their being, they are inferior. Whites may slander and insult our misery, and though poets heighten the horror of their fables, by representing us as monsters; the fact is, if treated like other men, and admitted to a participation of their rights, we would differ from them in nothing."

Can it be contended that a difference of color alone can constitute a difference of species? In what single circumstance are we different from the rest of mankind? What inferiority of art in the fashioning of our bodies? What imperfection in the faculties of our minds? Has not a Negro eyes? Has not a Negro hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? The Negro is fed with the same food; hurt with the same weapons; subject to the same diseases; healed by the same means; warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter as a white man? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you poison us, do we not die? Are we not exposed to the same wants? Do we not feel all the same sentiments? Are we not capable of all the same exertions? Are we not entitled to all the same rights as other men?³⁸

The writer reproves the white man for forcing Negroes to become instruments of enslavement and subjects of a sordid commerce. He scorns America for its acts of irrational brutality. "The oppressor need not boast of his superiority over Negroes." He asks the reader to examine the situation in which blacks have been placed and visualize whites being placed in the same position. Would their innate virtue and unconquerable vigor of mind empower them to surmount the cruel and inhuman conditions that confront the Negro on a daily basis?

He states that books written by Europeans give highest esteem to those who delivered themselves and their countrymen from tyranny. "They are exalted as martyrs, the saviours of their country, and the delivers of mankind. Their memories are honored with statutes and their names immortalized in poetry." "The same Europeans who applaud their own ancestors for attempting to throw

off the easy yoke, imposed on them by the Romans, punish us, as detested parasites for seeking to get free from the cruelest of all tyrannies."

Are then the reason and morality, for which Europeans so highly value themselves, of a nature so variable and fluctuating, as to change with the complexion of those, to whom they are applied? Do rights of nature cease to be such, when a Negro is to enjoy them, or does patriotism in the heart of an African, rankle into treason?³⁹

W. E. B. DuBois viewed the "Negro Problem in America" as one that many white Americans would not recognize as a problem that for the most part had been created and sustained by them. Some white Americans according to DuBois felt that it was more befitting to blame God or nature for the Negro's position in life in that the Negro was flawed and destined to be an outcast among men. The American concensus regarding racial ideology was that the white man was only acting out the role that by devine plan was bestowed upon him because of his superiority to to other races.⁴⁰

The Negro by nature, or by the curse against Cannan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite—then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know that it is the best, not only for the superior but for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed in conformity with the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of His ordinances or to question them. For His own purpose He has made one race to differ from another to His glory.⁴¹

The problem of what to do with the Negro was one of the severest issues facing the nation. Suggestions ranged from shipping all blacks to Africa, to making them full citizens, to leaving them to the mercy of the South. Blacks received an education in the South for the most part that conformed to the status quo. Industrial education was not designed to bring about social equality

or enable black laborers to become artisans. Many Negroes were told to be agricultural laborers or the unskilled menial work force of industry. The advocacy of education for blacks in the South was primarily a result of concerns over labor needs. "Let the pure Anglo-Saxon stock, use its influence, money, and power to preserve the Protestant and traditionally American culture and to control the South's blacks."⁴²

By the close of the nineteenth century, the future of the Negro in American life had been settled for the next fifty years. It was clear that the two races would constitute distinct castes, neither crossing over into the domain reserved for the other; that white and black children would be trained in two different kinds of schools—in two distinct socioculture worlds. Whites and Negroes would be obligated to the same flag, however, they would become two different kinds of peoples. The educational standards defined for the Negro were limited to the perceived world that he would be confined to in the American society.⁴³

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CHAPTER FOUR

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN CONSENSUS MORALITY AND EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGIES: 1918-1938

Despite the very real changes that took place in the black community, relationships between the races showed an insignificant amount of change. The national mind had not begun to divest itself of the old creeds upon which the structure of discrimination was grounded. The Negro's status as a second-class citizen, as hewer of wood and drawer of water, was still deeply entrenched in law and custom. Black Americans, due to economic status and social immobility were tightly trapped in the nation's urban and rural slums. The income of Black Americans in the workforce fell short of being half of that of white workers. Jim Crow trains, buses and street cars were still the mode of transportation for millions of Negroes. Hotel and restaurant facilities even in New York and Boston were segregated. Eleven O'Clock Sunday morning could be considered the most segregated hour of the week. Hospitals and medical service providers held the color line just as rigorously as other segments of the population. Voting and jury service by blacks continued to be brazenly thwarted.¹

The middle 1930s had not known a single Negro to enroll in a state graduate or professional school in the South, where three-fourths of the Afro-American population resided. The prospect of elementary and secondary schools being opened to all young people without regard to race was hopelessly remote.²

The plight of the black man's racial isolation was primarily rooted in private prejudice, old habits and misinformation. The laws of the land and the temper of the courts, whether federal, state or local had not changed regarding decisions of discrimination and segregation. In many respects, the courts strengthened their stand on issues regarding people of color and the separation

of the races. Courts held that separate but equal constituted a reasonable way of life for the nation in that it would promote the public peace and happiness by reducing social strains and preventing racial collision.³

The law created two worlds, so separate that communication between them was almost impossible. Separation bred suspicion and hatred. Legal segregation was so complete that a Southern white minister was moved to remark that it "made our eating and drinking, our buying and selling our labor and housing, our rents, our railroads, our orphanages and prisons, our recreation, our very institutions of religion, a problem of race as well as a problem of maintenance."⁴ For the Negro, the fight against "Jim Crow" in the federal government as well as in everyday life brought with it an increased sense of racial solidarity and an acute interest in national affairs. Blacks would not give up their belief in the spirit of the constitution and the principles of democracy. However, the conflicting sentiments of hope and despair deepened as America entered into World War I in April, 1917.⁵

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND WORLD WAR I

The war and relationships between white and Black service personnel provide a backdrop for examining racial views that represent the ideology of the broader culture. The examination of these views is important to the study of American schooling in that schools reflect the basic ideology of the culture. Negroes in the war gained the right to fight for civilization at the cost of being "Jim Crowed" and insulted. They were segregated in the draft, officers' training camps and allowed to volunteer only as servants in the Navy. The Army wanted them to serve as stevedores; common laborers, road builders, wood choppers, railroad hands, etc. . . . Negroes joined with the hope that their investment in

world peace would move them from society's exclusion to its embrace. American Negroes were among the first to volunteer. Of the 200,000 Negroes in the American Expeditionary Force, approximately 150,000 were stevedores and laborers, doing the hardest work in the most trying conditions faced by any soldiers during the war.⁶ Negro soldiers were often worked like slaves for twelve to fourteen hours a day by primarily white southern officers who often viewed their subordinates as "niggers." In France, they experienced a democracy that did not judge them by the color of their skin. French law and custom stepped in to protect Negro soldiers when necessary. The Negro soldier's major regret was his treatment by the average white American.⁷

Negro officers in particular were subjected to all sorts of discrimination. The following example provides some insight into the relationships that were established by Negro and white soldiers.

A black chaplain with the rank of a Lieutenant reported for duty with colored stevedore regiments at Bordeaux. All the officers were white. He presented himself at the officers' mess and was refused admission. He asked for meals in his room. That was contrary to regulations. He tried the non-commissioned officers' mess. He was refused because he was an officer. He asked them to send him meals. They refused. Again regulations intervened. After a day of hunger and insult he was finally accommodated with a side table for himself in the officers' mess-room.

In the fighting units not one-third of the white soldiers saluted colored officers; they were refused at officers' clubs and in several cases openly disparaged before their men. In hospitals they were often refused admittance to officers' quarters and placed with the privates. Clashes of white and colored soldiers ended in blood-shed in a number of cases.⁸

The Negro wanted to believe that the American philosophy of the World War with its emphasis on democracy would sift down to the Negro and provide a springboard by which the Negro's uncertain status might be elevated. Negro leaders continued to urge colored citizens to enlist and fight to make the world safe for democracy. Negroes thought that they would have additional grounds

for demanding democracy and educational equality at home when peace had at last been won. During the course of the war, more than 500,000 colored men were drafted and about 200,000 were sent to France.⁹

As stated earlier, the Negro fared rather well in France. It seemed to be the opinion of the French that he deserved the common lot of all soldiers. The American Negro found no Jim-Crow cars awaiting him and no restaurant doors closed in his face.¹⁰ President Wilson is reported to have assured a delegation of colored clergymen who visited him 14 March 1918: "In the present conflict your race has rallied to the nation's call. . . . With thousands of your sons in the camps and in France, out of this conflict you must expect nothing less than the enjoyment of full citizenship rights. . . the same as are enjoyed by every other citizen."¹¹

The Negro, however, returned from the war to face the same caste rigidity which he had left when he embarked for the battle front. It would be difficult to prove despite the sentiments of democracy that emanated from the public press that the Negro received a single additional right of citizenship above that which he enjoyed prior to 1917.¹² During this period, both the North and South seemed more determined than ever to "keep the Negro in his place." Back to Jim-Crow cars he returned South of the Mason and Dixon Line. There he found the newly revived Ku Klux Klan advertising its intention of keeping the "bumptious Negro soldier" safe behind the caste line.¹³ Mob violence soon followed. Bloody riots in Washington, Chicago, Omaha and Tulsa convinced many Negroes that when America spoke of democracy and equality these terms were not meant to apply to colored citizens. Following the Chicago riot, July 1919, W.E.B. DuBois stated in The Crisis, "For three centuries we have suffered and cowered. . . .

Today we raise the terrible weapon of self-defense. . . . If the United States is to be a land of law, we would live humbly and peaceably in it; if it is to be a land of mobs and lynchers, we might as well die today as tomorrow."¹⁴ The above attitudes regarding race, equality and civil rights were directed toward promoting equal educational rights for Negro children. It is during this period that Negro leaders again joined together to make known their views regarding the importance of quality education for all students. Their voices would be heard as far as the United States Supreme Court.¹⁵

EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGY

In order to understand the cognitive dissonance experienced among many Black Americans regarding education, this section will examine the basic tenets of thought expoused by educational leaders. Their views will be used to parallel, compare and contrast the programs and practices that were instituted for educating Black students. The "Negro Problem" was one that many white Americans obstinately hoped would go away. The society worked relentlessly to award the Negro with the dubious honor of being invisible. Therefore, the Negro and issues surrounding his education were brushed aside and then swept "under the rug." White Americans continued to develop plans that would give direction as to the best education for "its citizens." The educational ideology of the period sparkled with themes of nationalism, strength and nation building through vocational and industrial education. Character education, citizenship and the promise of new beginnings for "all" Americans were the basic tenets of thought. Educational papers and discussions centered around the concept of building a new civilization. Patriotism and democracy became tightly woven into the children's textbooks. Problems of immigrant education and adult illiteracy were priority

items on the school agenda. In the area of higher education, the war produced among academicians new thinking regarding reform. Some felt that schools had the responsibility of developing programs that would be more practical.¹⁶

The fact that the country had been involved in the war, set the stage for evaluating the primary goals of education. Through examining the mission and purpose of education from the perspective of white Americans, schools were viewed as playing a major role in developing the "new civilization" that was born as a result of the war.¹⁷ Some viewed the changes that were taking place in America in the following manner:

The new civilization will emphasize the distinction between mere instruction and true education.

The new civilization will recognize the right of each human being to a trained body and a trained mind. It will stress the spiritual reality in each, as the sovereign to which the trained body and mind must render instant and efficient service.

The civilization that is to be will be capable of expressing in human institutions the highest ideal of all the people, and it is apparent that the chief agent in the creation of this new structure must be the school.¹⁸

War-modified education did bring about some changes in the curriculum. However, the practices established by society for educating Negroes remained the same. Segregated schooling continued to be a way of life.¹⁹ The focus of education centered around the development of good citizens. As seen in earlier chapters, many white Americans viewed citizenship as a right for certain ethnic groups. Therefore, segregated schooling could be justified. Julia Forrester, a young Caucasian woman shared the following thoughts that represented the thinking of many white Americans regarding the Negro as a person and American citizen. "For me, Negroes were in the same class as goblins, ghosts, witches,

faries and devils. . . . I was taught hostility and fear. This began when I was about six years old." Forrester suggested that "Black blood" was not viewed as American blood. Therefore, full citizenship rights could not be offered to the Negro. "One drop of Negro blood thickens the lips, flattens the nose, kinks the hair and dulls the intelligence."²⁰

Fear for the safety of our race possessed me. I learned in a college class in sociology that the Negroes were our greatest problem. If something was not done about their rapid increase, they would soon threaten our supremacy. This filled me with gloom. If Lincoln had only lived, he would have sent them all back to Africa. This is what they told me in high school. A lecture given by Booker T. Washington gave me some consolation. He was willing that they (Negroes) should always be industrial workers and did not want inter-marriages. But what would happen if a great many of them became as intelligent as he? Would they remain content with only menial work to do?²¹

EDUCATION

Some practices that developed to sustain school segregation from as far North as Hartford, Connecticut to Ypsilanti, Michigan was the placing of Negro students in classrooms alone when they transferred from schools in the South.²² The great migration of Negroes from the south to northern cities in search of job opportunities, better living conditions and education during this period was met with resistance. Northern school officials generally placed newly arrived Negro students from the south one or two grades below the last grade they attended. Many believed that the quality of education provided to students in the south was inferior to educational experience given to students in northern cities. There was also the notion that Negro students from the south were somewhat limited in their ability to learn. Along with the issue of separate schooling

for Negroes, school officials who tested black children reported not only that it was educationally "efficient" to keep blacks separated, but that they should have a special curriculum that would be better suited to their "mental aptitudes" and future occupations. Thus, industrial education, which had become associated with the uplift of socially (and mentally) backward peoples, was introduced into the separate Negro public schools.²³

Separate schooling for the Negro has arisen largely as a function of the caste-like structure of American society. The bisocial structure in certain areas has led to the development of dual school systems, one for whites and one for the Negroes. These practices have invariably meant inferior education for the minority group.²⁴

Segregated education was understood as being that type of education conducted by or for a differentiated group that was separated either voluntarily or involuntarily by virtue of some special set of characteristics.²⁵ During the 1930s, a growing national movement to improve Negro education was on the rise. Negroes had long opposed the existence of segregation in public education. Public schooling provided to Blacks was usually separate, it was rarely equal. Negro leaders investigated contemporary and historical controversies over segregation in public education and the role of the Negro in American society in general. Although the gap between expenditures for Black and white public schooling in the south narrowed during the first three decades of this century, as late as 1930, blacks received from one-half to one-third the amount expended on the public schooling for whites in most southern states.²⁶

Horace Mann Bond published in 1933 a lengthy reanalysis of the financing of the "dual system" of public education in the South and concluded that "as compared to the Nation at large, it may be said categorically that Southern states are not able to support systems for the two races comparing favorably

with national norms of achievement. The result is that Negro children are discriminated against universally in states with a heavy Negro population, all available funds being devoted as far as possible to the needs of white school children.²⁷

Investigations of private and public secondary and higher education for Blacks also revealed extreme financial problems. Private schools for Blacks received a great part of their funds from private sources, such as churches and private foundations, including the Slater Fund, the Southern Education Board, and the General Education Board. These schools tended to flourish or fall, depending on the ability of the above agencies to provide money, grants and gifts.²⁸ Discriminatory funding policies and practices in elementary education, publicly supported institutions of secondary and higher education for Blacks was the case in separate but equal schooling.²⁹ Many black educators pointed out that the existence of a separate school system in the South meant that the normal processes of public opinion and public functioning which operated to secure equal education opportunities for all children of the advantaged majority, did not effectively operate to secure this result for minority children.³⁰

The constant discrepancy between the public educational facilities provided for Blacks as compared with those for whites in the South led many black leaders and educators in the 1930s to launch a concerted effort to end de jure segregation in public education. These leaders wanted to not only end public school segregation but to bring to the forefront the ideology behind "Jim Crow." In May 1934 a conference on the "Fundamental Problems in the Education of Negroes," sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, addressed the issue of school segregation, but only in a broad and general manner. Conference participants recommended that

the objectives of elementary education should be the same for all American citizens. They further advised that the unfavorable conditions of segregated schooling tended to weaken the fundamental underpinnings of public education in America.³¹ The 1935 yearbook issue of the Journal of Negro Education, directly confronted the problem of school segregation in its consideration of the topic "The Courts and the Negro Schools." The contributors suggested several legal strategies that could be utilized to bring an end to segregated public education. Many of these recommendations were followed by the NAACP lawyers who eventually succeeded in getting the U.S. Supreme Court to outlaw legal segregation in American public education.³²

Newton Edwards, professor of education at the University of Chicago reported in his article "A Challenge to Educational Statesmanship," the following:

The most devastating criticism that can be directed against American education is its widespread failure to provide equality of educational opportunity. In a country of such vast extent and of such differences in cultural patterns, absolute equality is not to be expected. But the differences that exist are not slight; they are of such magnitude as to constitute a threat to the very fabric of our democratic institutions.³³

Some educators wanted education for peace to be the central theme of education during this period.³⁴ The espoused ideology was to assist in developing cultural values that would promote world peace. Paul Monroe, President of the World Federation of Education associations during this period was instrumental in organizing "World Goodwill Day," 18 May 1924, to be observed in the schools each year.³⁵ However, for Negro children attending public schools, the disparity continued to separate educational facilities, the educational curriculum and the basic purpose for educating Negro students.

The function of education according to the major culture was to prepare

the individual for full and successful participation in the life of the group. The purpose of the main educational institution, the school, was to instruct all youth in the social traditions of the society.³⁶ Its primary task was that of increasing the continuity and persistence of the social structure.³⁷ When we examine school textbooks later in this chapter, we will further assess how the society sent forth cultural messages to children about the Negro's place in America.

It was thought that the children and through them the parents, of all American peoples would be imbued with common ideal and directed toward common goals. However, in the average American community the school did not entirely fulfill the function it purportedly espoused. There existed in America not one school system but several, each with its distinct segregated clientele.³⁸

Elwood P. Cubberley said in substance that one of the most stirring chapters in the annals of American educational development is that concerned with the long fight for free schools for all. The reason for the whole matter was the realization that education is not a luxury but a prime necessity in the economy of a democratic state.³⁹

Educational literature throughout the period was replete with studies of the mental ability of Negroes. However, few comprehensive investigations were made of the educational achievements of Negro children. In school achievement, the Negro child was invariably described as being inferior to the average white child.⁴⁰ Views regarding the Negro's level of intelligence are discussed in the writings of Doxey Wilkerson, Kenneth B. Clark, Asa Gordon, Robert Jackson, Otto Klineberg, Gunnar Myrdal, Simon Marcson, Horace Mann Bond, Carter G. Woodson, and Henry Bullock. Many other writers could be cited. Educational literature left the impression that the Negro child would be hopeless in school

and destined for failure. In addition, one was led to conclude that gifted Negro children were so anomalous in the public school that diligent search for them would prove unprofitable.⁴¹

There was a basic premise that the American Negro was lazy and incompetent. This notion is articulated to students in some school texts.

The inborn indolence of Africa sleeps in the Negro's blood. Laziness is a virtue in the tropics. Nature there selects the languid to survive. The Negro simply lacks the inborn impulse to work with the degree of engery which is normal for the white man. A table of economic vices and virtues may thus be drawn out as racial contrast. The white worker is energetic; the Negro lazy. The white worker is self-reliant; the Negro servile. The white worker is reliable; the Negro is childishly unaccountable. The white worker is thrifty; the Negro utterly lacks a "compelling vision of the future."⁴²

SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

School textbooks gave a coherent picture of nationalistic values, but were one-sided and incomplete. They not only portrayed a common image of what it was to be an American, but it was almost always an idealized middle-class version. Tyack sums up what he calls the "conservative persuasion" of the textbook of the era:

In an urban and industrial society, whose agriculture was fast being mechanized and aimed at a world market, the schoolbooks painted a sentimental picture of rural bliss. In a period of great stress on the family, they drew a cloying picture of home sweet home. In times of industrial violence, they ignored the condition of labor and described unions as the evil plots of foreigners, anarchists, and Communists. In the midst of unparalleled political corruption, they portrayed statesmen of stainless steel. The Negro appeared infrequently in the texts, and then usually in the guise of Sambo. People of other nations often appeared as foils to illustrate the superior virtue of Americans. A pervasive Protestantism colored the readers and downgraded other religions either openly or by implication. A pluralistic, expansive society undergoing great intellectual, social economic and political change was reduced in the textbooks, as Ruth Elson has observed, a "fantasy made up by

adults as a guide for their children, but inhabited by no one outside the pages of schoolbooks."⁴³

The content and substance of reading materials found in textbooks from 1918-1938 reflected the mission of education as presented by educational leaders addressing the various conferences sponsored by the National Education Association. The effects of the war on school-books were not fully realized until after the war. Educators wanted textbook publishers to make changes that would focus on the "New Civilization." Some educators complained that in the past there was too much reading and too little thinking. They wanted textbooks that would develop thinking skills. They wanted students to be able to relate to the past, understand the present and prepare for the future. Teachers stated that children were being flooded with printed matter from a multiplicity of "half-baked" books. They wanted the new textbooks to place emphasis upon the development of social relationships, character education, patriotism, nationalism and civil responsibilities. However, the Negro was not included in the development of social relationships, nor recognized for the significant contributions he made during the war.⁴⁴

While textbook publishers painted a picture of unrelieved goodness in American life; the life of the Negro was in direct contrast. The Negro was rarely seen or written about in American textbooks during this era. In the textbook City Friends, the only reference to the Negro is one illustration, depicting him to the children as a person who does menial labor. Textbooks discuss no relationships between white and Negro members of society. The major characters are white and their relationships are developed with other Anglo-Saxons. The prescribed themes of liberty, union and freedom are consistently observed in all

texts, however, none of these ideals or principles translate to people of color.⁴⁵

The Boys and Girls Sixth Reader provides a series of stories about the lives of children from other lands as well as the lives of those living in America. None of the stories treat the issues of Negro, nor are there any illustrations or references to the Negro that would indicate to children that he is a member of the American culture. Some samples of story titles include: "I Hear America Singing," "The Thinker," "Columbus," "My Country," "The Read Man Eloquent," "The Flag in Cuba," "An Italian Boy at School," "Benjamin Franklin as a Boy," "American Citizenship," and "A Great American Citizen." In textbooks, the Negro can be considered the invisible citizen.⁴⁶

In Happy Hour Stories, a textbook written for second grade students in 1921, students are introduced to George Washington Jackson, a Negro child about seven years old. He is wearing torn clothes and holes in both shoes. The story begins:

George Washington Jackson was a little boy. He was a lazy boy. He did not like to think. His mother sent him to the garden to pick some beans. George Washington Jackson picked the beans. He put them into his pockets and lost every bean. "Silly boy," said his mother [who is portrayed in the next text as being about two hundred pounds over weight.]. "You should carry them in your hat." "I will remember," said George Washington Jackson.

So George Washington Jackson said to himself, "I should carry them in my hat. I should carry them in my hat. I should carry them in my hat." The next day his mother sent him to the store to buy some butter. George Washington Jackson put the butter in his hat and put the hat on his head. When he reached home the butter had run all over his head. . .⁴⁷

Here the Negro is portrayed as ignorant and unable to think. The story implies to students that the Negro when given a task will probably make a mess of things.

The first collection of stories and poems by Negro writers, which Negro

children could read with interest and find a mirror of the traditions and aspirations of their race was in The Upward Path: A Reader for Colored Children. The text brought together literary materials that encouraged young readers to take pride in themselves and the accomplishments of members of their race. The text included selections from Up from Slavery, "The Brave Son," "The Black Fairy," "The Children at Easter," "His Motto," "Negro Soldiers," "A Negro Explorer at the North Pole," etc. Poetry, history and fiction were presented in a manner that enabled Negro children to expand their thinking about themselves as a race.⁴⁸

The Wonder World, a 1930 basal reader contains fifty-four literary selections and portrays the Negro in one selection dining car waiter on a train. The classroom teacher in the 1918 Browne Readers was asked to correlate reading selections to nature and ethics. A variety of topics were discussed. The Negro past or present was not included.⁵⁰ Love of country is the theme of the Heart of America Readers. Selections include "Obedience," "The Tree That Fought For France," "A Japanese Lullaby," "Saving For Victory," "The Civic Creed For The Boys And Girls Of The Great Republic," "Indians and The White Settlers." Again, the Negro does not have representation as part of the American culture.⁵¹ Books influence the thoughts, feelings and actions of others. Children respond to the basic tenets of thought espoused in the written material provided to them in schools and develop direction for their lives based on the messages they receive.⁵² Based on this concept, white students would not see the rationale for relating to Negro students or develop an understanding of their plight if the only literacy exposure to children of the minority culture consisted of the textbooks described in this section.⁷⁰

The textbook, Friends to Know provide students with a sense of the

importance of interrelationships, community building and national pride. There is no illustration or mention of the Negro as being part of the American culture. Some titles of selections include "Friends at Home and at School," "Farm Friends," "Community Friends," "Friends at Work," "Our Country's Friends," and "Friends of the Out-of-Doors."⁵³ Reading for enjoyment is divided into fairy tales, fables, poems, proverbs, and child life. The figures that emerge from the book do not include the Negro.⁵⁴ According to Albert Harris, author of the Citizenship Readers, the schools of America have just one purpose: to make good citizens. Apparently the author does not consider the Negro a citizen. Children are seen at camp making campfires, interacting with wild life, singing songs about nature and telling stories under the stars. Here again the Negro is invisible.⁵⁵

In an eighth grade history text, An American Citizenship Course in United States History, students are asked: "How could one man so enslave another?" the response was "The Negroes were a weaker and less intelligent race."⁵⁶ The Story of Our Republic, represents the Negro's contribution to the growth and development of America through mentioning the name of one Negro, Booker T. Washington, in the appendix of the book.⁵⁷ Students reading Brief History of The United States learned the following about the Negro:

Negroes were introduced into the colony as indentured servants. Some of these first Negroes, if not all, gained their freedom as did the whites. In the case of the Negroes, however it was soon recognized that they were far inferior in development, and that savages but lately redeemed from the lowest forms of barbarism in Africa might become a menace if granted the civil rights of Englishmen. . . . The African Negro seemed for the most part contented in a condition of slavery.⁵⁸

In the 1937 textbook, Treasury of Life and Literature, third grade students read about Sally and Van, two white children who visited their aunt and uncle

who live on a plantation in Alabama. There they find Lou, a colored girl who was one of their aunt's maids and other Negroes who worked in the cotton fields.

In came the darkies from the field, dragging their heavy burdens; fat Aunt Viney, very proud of herself; hugh black Sam; gingerbread Betsy; little black Billy and all the others. All were very weary now, so they dropped down on the cotton or stretched out on the ground to rest. Big Sam, Jerry, and Jim Andy, who were the fastest pickers and always raced with each other, sat in front. They joked and boasted while the others listened and laughed.

"Ike Jemison, 230 pounds." Tom paused, looked at the basket, then at Ike. "Any rocks in that basket?" asked Tom (the plantation owner). "Naw-sah! Nothin' in my baskit, "Mr. Tom, dat cotton's just packed down." Tom dumped the cotton out, and a loud laugh went round, for the cotton was wet. Ike looked surprised, "How come dat water in my basket?" Ike's hound dog brought in a large bucket which he dropped at Ike's feet.⁵⁹

Negroes were characterized as having fun on the plantation. However, they were not to be trusted because they were liars.

Schools and textbooks reflect social conditions. They interpret and carry forward social ideas and social customs.⁶⁰ The portrayal of the Negro in school texts generally conformed to the prevailing notion that he was content with his lifestyle. He was sometimes depicted as being lazy or character typed as a primitive barbarian African. Thus, the stereotypes that were created around the Negro as a person impressed upon young minds the place of the Negro in American society at an early age.⁶¹ The state legislature sometimes played a role in ensuring that the basic tenets of thought presented to one ethnic group would not be shared with that of the other by enacting laws that would prohibit white and black students from being issued textbooks that were previously issued to a different racial group. The state of Kentucky enacted the following law in 1928.

No textbook issued or distributed under this act to a white school child shall ever be reissued or redistributed to a colored school

child, and no textbook issued or distributed to a colored school child shall ever be reissued or redistributed to a white school child.⁶²

The cognitive dissonance that was created by the symbolic truths upon which the country had been founded, coupled with the lack of acceptance of the Negro in school literature, as a part of the country's history and the society in general caused Clara Burrill Bruce to assess the Black man's plight in white America.

We who are dark/ and know the lash/On bodies worn,/Insensate made/
Through years of wrong;/ That feel no more/ The scourge, the whip-/
We who are dark/ And know the hurt/ Of pitiless scorn/
On souls that live/ And feel the dart/ And thrust of wrong;/ The
greedy glance/ Of sinful lust—/ We who are dark/ And know the
urge/ of blinding rage/ And fury red,/ That eats and burns;/ The
ache of hands/ Pressed on by hearts/ On Vengeance bent—/ We've
won your praise/ That side by side/ With those who taught/ Us all
our woes/ We Bravely march/ Nor backward glance./ Not hesitate/
Nor slow, but with/ Quickening tread/ Old wrongs, old sores/
Forgotten lie;/ Brothers-in-arms,/ As we march forth/ To Victory,/ Bearing
aloft/ To foreign lands/ A freedom sweet/ That's not our own.⁶³

The sentiments of Clara Bruce's poem were shared by many Negroes regarding their plight. For many years, the voices were raised against the inequalities that were perpetrated upon the Negro race. However, they were too few and too feeble. An effort was made through the publication of studies, to make the public aware of the progress and needs of Negro education. Beginning with the first report of the United States Commissioner of Education in 1870 practically every annual report contained some reference to Negro schools. Up to 1930 there had been a total of 241 such references in the annual reports and biennial surveys, and fourteen circulars, special reports, and bulletins on the subject of Negro school had been published.⁶⁴

With financial support from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Office of Education

sponsored a comprehensive study of the education of Negroes by Thomas Jesse Jones, and published its results in a two-volume government bulletin in 1916. This report stimulated considerable discussion for several years, focusing the attention of the nation on many of the discrepancies in the education of Negroes.⁶⁵

In 1930 an address was given by U.S. Secretary of Education, Raymond Wilbur, regarding the education of the Negro.

Our educational aims are no longer based upon authority, or caste, or tradition, but rather upon the needs of the individual and society and the innate capacities of those to be trained. Scientific investigation has given us many new methods, and instead of following the blind path of the past we can now choose our procedures by facts derived from research. More and more men and women are devoting themselves to the scientific investigations of the Negro boy and Negro girl.⁶⁶

In a 1932 study examining the condition of the Negro schools in twenty-six states, J. Price, educational researcher for the "Journal of Negro Education," stated that the average Negro elementary school received two to eight times less money for expenditures than white elementary schools in the same locality. The salary of the Negro teacher was uniformly less than that of white teachers. Even the property value of the Negro school was less than one-third that of the white school. The control of the Negro elementary school in most states was in the hands of educational officials who were voted into office. Negroes for the most part were non-voters. Schools were deprived of local funds and in many instances were not given all of the money allotted them by the state on the basis of the number of Negro students attending Negro schools. As an example, Louisiana, Maryland and South Carolina received about \$12,5 million less than they would have received if funds were disbursed equitably.

Classrooms were overcrowded. Library facilities were meager. There were inequities in the provision of free textbooks. The average class size was

47 pupils per teacher. The Negro teacher was primarily female with an education that was equivalent to that of a senior high school student or less.

The average training of the Negro urban teacher was one year less than that of the white teacher. The average training of the Negro rural teacher was one and one-half years less than that of the white teacher. Accordingly, the certificate of the Negro teacher was lower than that of the white teacher. Her salary was less than \$400.00 per year. The differences in salary ranged from 33 to 75 percent as much as the salary paid to white teachers.⁶⁷

THE NEGRO: SOCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC STUDIES

In the area of scientific studies regarding the Negro, perhaps the increased number of scientific studies by whites regarding the Negro rose as a result of protests from Negro liberal groups, in particular, the NAACP, regarding the countless injustices faced by the Negro in everyday American life. The nation was preoccupied with American ideals during the World War I era. Anti-Negro thought at the popular level was increasingly on the defensive. White Americans became more aggressively assertive about their feelings toward the Negro in the two decades after 1910. The twenties brought with it the panicky fear of radicals and an almost psychotic hostility against all strangers. There were new outbursts of loyalty and patriotism. There was also a new wave of lynchings. The resurgence of the Ku-Klux-Klan this time was as strong in the Middle West as it was in the South. The focus was on all "undesirables" of whom the Negro was one.⁶⁸

The myths and superstitions, the old wives' tales and half-truths, upon which rested much of the anti-Negro feeling by the masses of under educated and unsophisticated Americans, were familiar enough by now. More remarkable,

however, was the steady growth of a body of sophisticated racist thought. It was bold in its affirmations and was produced by respected intellectuals, scholars, anthropologists, publicists, jurists, journalist, and religious leaders embodying a quasi-scientific corpus of racial ideology.⁶⁹

The following are excerpts from various studies and writing that shaped and reinforced American racial theology.

In general the head of the American Negro is about 2mm. longer and about 1mm. narrower than the head of the White. In accordance with this form, the Negro head is somewhat lower, about 5mm. This difference in the height of the head is probably significantly associated with the very slightly smaller brain of the Negro. The mean cubic capacity of the Negr brain is 1350.125 cc. for Negro males, and 1391.08 for White males. The difference for the males, is here a matter of 41cc. in favor of the Whites.⁷⁰

R. W. Shufeldt, M.D., United States Army (retired), wrote the The Negro A Menace to American Civilization. The book was dedicated to Edward Drinker Cope, a renown paleontologist. The following illustration provides a sample of the pseudo-scientific beliefs that were typical of the anti-Negro literature.

In the skull of the Negro, the cranial capacity and the brain itself is much undersized. On the average, the former will hold thirty-five fluid ounces, as against forty-five for the Caucasian skull. In the Negro, the cranial bones are dense and unusually thick, converting his head into a veritable battering-ram. Moreover, the cranial sutures unite very early in life. This checks the development of the brain long before that takes place in other races, and this fact accounts to some extent for the more or less sudden stunting of the Ethiopian intellect shortly after arriving at puberty.⁷¹

Another example, this time from the work of a clergyman interested in race relations, concludes:

The older schools of anthropologist agreed among themselves in assigning to the Negro branch of humanity a smaller and less highly developed brain that is exhibited by other races. By charts, and otherwise, some of them sought to show the areas of the Negro

brain not yet developed to the standard of the Caucasian. The logical results of the findings of these men, with their prodigious industry and patience, are distinctly discouraging to the Negro.⁷²

One of the chief American contributors to the literary vogue of racism was Henry Fairfield Osborne, a highly respected paleontologist and biologist, who was for a quarter of a century (1908-1933), president of the American Museum of Natural History. His extensive writings on scientific subjects (some 12,000 pages) included relatively little in the way of formal treatises on race, but his views were widely known and respected. He proceeded from the assumptions (which he considered too plainly obvious to require defense) that: "Enormous differences in intelligence and temperament set off the races from each other." He contended that the very survival of civilization depended upon the frank recognition of such differences. Osborne was a vehement advocate of rigorously selective and restrictive immigration laws. A characteristic expression of his favorite thesis was that "Nordics accounted for most of man's civilized achievements."⁷³

Madison Grant's The Passing of the Great Race, became a model for a flood of racist books and articles which poured from American presses. Through the 1930s, countless Americans feared that hordes of inferior immigrants would crowd America's shores and pollute the country's superior Nordic racial stock. "If unchecked, America would become doomed as a civilization."

There exist today a widespread and factuous belief in the power of environment, as well as of education and opportunity to alter heredity, which arises from the dogma of brotherhood of man, derived in its turn from the loose thinkers of the French Revolution and Their American mimics. Such beliefs have done must damage in the past and if allowed to go uncontradicted, may do even more serious damage in the future. . . . When it becomes thoroughly understood

that the children of mixed marriages between contrasted races belong to the lower type, . . . to bring half breeds into the world will be regarded as a social and racial crime of the first magnitude. The laws against miscegenation must be greatly extended if the higher races are to be maintained. . . . Negroes have demonstrated throughout recorded time that they are a stationary species and that they do not possess the potentiality of progress or initiative from within. . . .⁷⁴

Nearly two decades later in 1933, Grant published the The Conquest of a Continent, a racial history of America. He espouses that the origin and evolution of American is fundamentally Nordic.

Whatever be the final outcome, the Negro problem must be taken vigorously in hand by the Whites, without delay. States which have no laws preventing the intermarriage of white and black should adopt them. During the last quarter-century, many such bills, introduced in Northern legislatures, have been defeated by an organized pro-Negro lobby (the NAACP). The Christian churches in some parts of the North have also taken an unwise stand, in trying to break down the social barriers between Negro and White.

Senator Roscoe Conklyn hit this attitude off neatly when some one asked him what had happened in the Senate that day. He replied: "We have been discussing Senator Sumner's annual bill entitled 'An act to amend the act of God whereby there is a difference between white and black.'"

More necessary than legislation is a more vigorous and alert public opinion among the Whites, which will put a stop to social mixing of the two races. Social separation is the key to minimizing the evils of race mixture at the present time. Negroes should be encouraged to respect their own racial integrity. Finally, knowledge of methods of Birth Control now widespread among the White, should be made universally available to the Blacks.⁷⁵

Henry Pratt Fairchild, famous social scientists and president of the American Eugenic Society, was somewhat less certain of the inherent inferiority of darker peoples than were others of the scholarly and scientific community who, like him called fervently for immigration restrictions. However, he was no less convinced that "America must continue a white man's country for an indefinite period to come."

The principle has been propounded and urged by certain broadminded and sympathetic persons that there should be no racial discrimination in any American legislation. Nothing could be more unsound, unscientific, or dangerous. Radical discrimination is inherent in biological fact and in human nature. It is unsafe and fallacious to deny in legislation forces which exist in fact.⁷⁶

The assumption that the Negro child was not educable gained support with the spread of the movement for psychological testing. Many studies of the comparative mental abilities of whites and Negroes were made by the use of intelligence tests. These results, in the main, seemed to indicate that the Negro was inferior to the white in mental ability. Realizing the invalid basis of racial testing on which such a conclusion was based, Daniel, in a study of "Basic Considerations for valid Interpretations of Experimental Studies Pertaining to Racial Differences," indicated that:

(1) Most studies thus far reported are worthless as indicating anything regarding the comparative ability of races; (2) most of our present techniques give measures of difference due to weakness in educational opportunities rather than differences in mental ability; (3) there is need of a re-evaluation of the problems and methods of studies pertaining to racial differences.⁷⁷

In rebuttal to some of the previous writings and research regarding racial differences, T.W. Todd and D.W. Lyon investigated earlier research (including in their own) regarding the cranial structures of Negroes and whites. They concluded in their 1925 findings that:

It can now quite definitely be stated, as a result of the fundamental studies on the suture closure in Negroes and Whites, that no significant differences in the character of suture closure exists between the two groups. There is one model type of human suture closure upon outer and inner faces of the cranium, common to White and Negro stocks. . .⁷⁸

They further intimated that the American Negro represents an amalgamation into which has entered the blood of African Negroes, Whites of all nations and

social classes, and American Indians. From their perspective, the American Negro represented the successful blending of these three.

He represents a good and desirable biological type. His biological future is definitely bright. Should it, however, transpire that present legislative and social barriers are maintained in his disfavor, there can be no doubt that the present blended or intermediate status of his physical characters will be much altered, and that he will tend to approximate more to the African Negro status than to the White. In the opinion of the present writer, this would be undesirable.⁷⁹

In their twentieth Annual Meeting, the NAACP assessed their pursuit for democracy and education by stating that "The Negro problem is still with us. But it is not the same problem. We are still being lynched and burned at the stake but now it is 11 per year instead of 73 as it was in 1909. A series of court decisions have laid the foundation for our 'real' citizenship."

We still have a tremendous fight before us. We continue to face discrimination and exclusion from common school training for Negro children. This is a matter that calls for investigation and remedy. A just share of educational funds of the United States government, of Land-Grant funds, of the Smith Hughes and Smith-Lever appropriations, and of other moneys, is regularly and deliberately stolen from Negro children with the knowledge and connivance of United States and State officials, and the discrimination in state educational appropriations, especially in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi and Alabama is notorious and often amounts to spending \$16.00 for a white child and only \$1.00 a year for a black child.⁸⁰

Many southern whites held firm to the belief that the Negro's place was on the farm. He was perceived as being happy picking cotton. Therefore, it would not be necessary for state officials to spend large sums of money on his education.

Pictured below is a "happy" Negro child in Georgia, 1933, being "kept in his place."⁸¹



A pickaninny takes his ease in the cotton field

THE SEPARATE BUT EQUAL DOCTRINE RETURNS TO COURT

Perhaps no other document will more appropriately illustrate the NAACP's contribution to the Negro's struggle for justice and equality from 1910 to 1938 than a simple listing of the cases in which the Association's battery of lawyers hammered away at. The color line was the monumental barrier. Using only the weapons which were placed in their hands by the very Constitution which the white man had written, the lawyers relentlessly chipped away at the explicit legislation to maintain for generations to come the inferior status of the Negro.

During the years from 1910 to 1938 there is nothing to report in the way of federal legislation to protect Negroes from injury and outrage or to accelerate their progress toward a full enjoyment of their civil rights. The creation of separate school systems in the states electing to take that step was virtually completed before the opening of this era. One refinement on the older laws is illustrated by an act of Arizona, permitting a "local option plan" for segregated high schools.

Racial Segregation—Whenever there shall be registered in any high school, union high school, or county high school in the State of Arizona, twenty-five or more pupils of the African race, the board of trustees of any such school shall, upon petition of 15 percent of the school electors, as shown by the poll list at the last preceding annual election, residing in the district, call an election to determine whether or not such pupils of the African race shall be segregated from pupils of the Caucasian race on condition that the board of trustees shall provide equal accommodations and facilities for pupils of the African race as are now or may be hereafter provided for pupils of the Caucasian race; it being understood that the estimated cost of segregation will be \$_____ over and above the cost of maintaining the school without such segregation?

If a majority of the electors voting at such election vote in favor of such segregation, then the school trustees. . . shall segregate the pupils of the African race from the pupils of the Caucasian and shall provide equal accommodations and facilities for such pupils of the African race as are now or may be hereafter provided for the pupils of the Caucasian race in any such high schools.⁸²

A real gain for the cause of minority rights came through the courts insistence of fair trials for Negroes accused of crime. The number of persons directly affected by such judicial liberalization was statistically unimportant compared with the numbers involved in two other areas where little or no gains were achieved under the shield of the equal protection clause.

One of these was in the field of public education. In 1938 nearly half

the states still either required (as did all the southern states) or permitted segregation in the schools. In 1935-36, when the gap had narrowed, expenditures per pupil in daily attendance in ten southern states were \$17.04 for Negroes, compared with nearly three times that amount for whites, \$49.30. In Mississippi and Georgia, the ratio difference was much greater. These figures reflected lower salaries for teachers in Negro schools, substantially larger classes than those in white schools, less transportation, shorter school terms, and inferior physical conditions.⁸³

For the most part, no one seriously doubted that black children were being denied educational opportunities that were equal to that of whites. The general consensus was that through education, white children would be prepared to take their "rightful" place in society, while many insisted that equal provisions for the Negro would be wasted. By virtue of his race and inferior status in society, his sustained role in American life would be that of serving the white man.

Segregation in education was especially resistant to attack. Patterns of segregation were upheld in state courts, usually on police power grounds, as a necessary device for preserving public peace and tranquility, in a world whose Creator had chosen to set the various branches of the human family apart from each other. If the facilities allotted to Negroes were somewhat less than equal, it was to that defect, rather than to any supposed fault in the principle of segregation itself, that judicial remedies would be applied.⁸⁴

The following are samples of state supreme court cases regarding segregated schools. In January 1933, the Supreme Court of Alabama was presented with the case of Samuel Farmer, a resident of Mobile, Alabama. He petitioned the court to allow his children to attend a white school in Mobile County. Farmer's children,

ages eight and twelve, had been in attendance at the white school for some years, however, there was community protest that the children in question were black. As a result of an investigation, the children were refused further admittance to the white school.

It seems from the weight of the evidence, this family is of a group known locally in Toulminville as "creoles." Admittedly, this name is in general applied to white people of French or Spanish descent. Webster's International Dictionary, "Creole." But respondents' testimony tends to show that locally it is applied to a mixed race in which Negro blood is present.

Here there is and has been, it seems, a division; some recognizing them as white people, others not. Under cross-examination, Farmer was asked if he had any social relations with several white neighbors, naming them. This tended to shed some light on the issue, taken in connection with Farmer's direct testimony, touching his social relations.

The trial judge saw and heard the witnesses; had the children before him. Evidence of Negro blood through their maternal ancestors was more direct and persuasive.

The decision of the court was as follows:

Without question, these children have a clear legal right to attend the public school for the race to which they belong.

"Separate schools shall be provided for white and colored children and no child of either race shall be permitted to attend a school of the other race." Section 256, Constitution 1901.

The fixed policy of preserving race autonomy in our state is indicated by kindred constitutional and statutory provisions.

In Thurman v. State, 18 Ala. 276, decided in 1850, a "mulatto" was defined to be one of half white and half Negro blood. The miscegenation statute was amended to prohibit intermarriage between any white person and a Negro, "or the descendant of any Negro."

We conclude the provisions for separate schools for "colored children" contemplates that no child with an appreciable admixture of Negro blood shall be admitted to a public school for white children.⁸⁵

The Supreme Court of Kansas, 8 February 1930, in the case of Wright et al. v. Board of Education of City of Topeka, ruled on an injunction against transferring a colored pupil from a school for white children to a colored school, on the sole grounds of distance being unreasonable. The court denied the appeal of George Wright, father of Wilhemina Wright, to continue his daughter's education at the all white school.

Under the facts stated in the opinion, the court properly denied an injunction to prevent the board of education of a city of the first class from carrying out an order transferring a colored pupil from a school maintained for white children to one maintained for colored children.

The plaintiff lives within a few blocks of Randolph school, and it is convenient for her to attend school there. Buchanan school is some 20 blocks from plaintiff's residence, and to attend school there

would require her to cross numerous intersections where there is much automobile traffic in going to and from school. The sole contention made by appellant here is that defendant's order that plaintiff attend school at the Buchanan school is unreasonable, in view of the distance she would have to go and the street intersections she would be compelled to cross, and on this point cites Williams v. Board of Education of City of Parsons, 72 Kan. 202, 99 P. 216.

We examine the pleadings, for plaintiff alleged that defendant furnish transportation by automobile, bus for plaintiff to and from the Buchanan school without expense to her or to her parents, and the answer of defendant admitted that it does so. There is no contention that this transportation is not adequate, appropriate, or sufficient. The trial court properly held that the order of the board of education was not so unreasonable that it should be enjoined.⁸⁶

The judgment of the lower court was affirmed.

In decisions handed down by state and federal courts regarding issues of educational equality for Negro students, the opinions were all the same during this era. Separate but equal education was the law. The supreme court ruling of Gong Lum v. Rice, in 1924 applied the same opinions regarding race education

and equality for Negro children to a Chinese child. In Bolivar County, Mississippi, it was somewhat unusual to find Americans of Chinese ancestry. Martha Lum, age nine, was taken by her father to the white school in the community to enroll. She was refused admittance to the school because of her race. Martha Lum's father, a merchant and taxpayer, was fully aware of the condition of Negro schools in Mississippi and fought for his daughter's right to attend a white school. The case went to the United States Supreme Court. The court unanimously disposed of the family's claim to exemption from the laws of Mississippi. Chief Justice Taft in 1927 wrote his opinion: "Were this a new question, it would call for a full argument and consideration; but we think that it is the same question that's been many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the state legislature to settle, without intervention of the federal courts."⁸⁷

Mississippi school authorities assigned Martha Lum to a colored school. This action was sustained under the equal facilities provision.⁸⁸

Negroes continued to initiate court action to compel the provision of more genuinely equal facilities in the separate schools. The courts, while conceding that substantial equality must be provided, ruled that unreasonable inequality had not been conclusively proven in the cases that had come before it during this era.

In 1935, there occurred a case involving higher education which is of special interest because it closed an avenue by which some states hoped they could legally preserve separation and at the same time avoid the troublesome problem of building separate facilities for Negroes. The University of Maryland, while excluding Negroes from its law school, offered them, instead of a school of their own, scholarships to enable them to study outside Maryland. Donald G. Murray, a black twenty-year old Baltimore graduate of Amherst College, turned

down of the out-of state tuition grants and applied for admission to the university law school. The trial court issued a write of mandamus, compelling the university to admit him.

Equality of treatment does not require that privileges be provided members of the two races in the same place. The State may choose the method by which equality is maintained [Here the court cited, in support of this view Roberts v. Boston, etc.]

Separation of the races must nevertheless furnish equal treatment. The constitutional requirement cannot be dispensed within in order to maintain a school or schools for whites exclusively. That requirement comes first. . .and as no separate law school is provided by this State for colored students, the main question in the case is whether the separation can be maintained and Negroes (be) excluded from the present school, by reason of equality of treatment furnished the latter in scholarships for studying outside the state, where law schools are open to Negroes.⁸⁹

After arguing that fellowships for law school were limited and not every applicant could rely on receiving one if a considerable number applied and the serious financial burden placed upon students in excess of the grant, the court responded:

The method of furnishing the equal facilities required is at the choice of the State, now or at any future time. At present it is maintaining only the one law school. . . . No separate school for colored students has been decided upon and only an inadequate substitute has been provided. Compliance with the Constitution cannot be deferred at the will of the State. Whatever system it adopts for legal education now must furnish equality of treatment now. . . . And as in Maryland now the equal treatment can be furnished only in the one existing law school, the petitioner, in our opinion, must be admitted there. . . . And as the officers and regents are the agents of the State entrusted with the conduct of that one school, it follows that they must admit. . . .⁹⁰

The decision in the University of Maryland v. Murray case contributed significantly to the dismantling of the "separate but equal" doctrine. The exclusion of Negroes from state universities, at the graduate and professional school levels,

provided an inviting target for champions of racial equality. The concern obviously was the admission of Negroes to these institutions. The much larger purpose was that of establishing the principle that the requirements of due process and equal protection imposed upon the states the obligation to provide opportunities that were in fact equal. It was hoped that perhaps the enormous expense of maintaining two sets of equal facilities would force the abandonment of segregation in the system of higher education as well as in all aspects of the society. The admission of Donald Murray to law school did not itself save the Negro race. However, the immediate by-products were considerable.

The Maryland legislature, perhaps in an effort to discourage a throng of Donald Murrays, sharply increased its financial support for Negro higher education. Funding for out-of-state scholarships, which was an issue in the Murray case, was tripled. The state colored teacher's college at Bowie was given more than \$250,000 for new buildings. Morgan College, a private black school, doubled its annual appropriations and received a \$100,000 grant to build a gymnasium. As a result of the Murray case, Virginia, a neighboring state authorized graduate study at its principal college for Negroes. Money was also allocated for out-of-state scholarships. Missouri also established tuition funding for Negroes to attend colleges out-of-state. The legal victory increased black morale in the Baltimore area. NAACP membership grew from a few dozen in the local branch in 1934 to more than 1,500 by the end of 1936.⁹¹

A study in the Journal of Negro Education regarding out-of-state educational programs indicated that for the most part, Negro students tended to select institutions widely dispersed in geographic location, institutions of well established reputation, large in size and situated in areas where there was "liberal"

thinking towards the Negro. Howard and Meharry ranked high among the choices of educational institutions. Approximately 23.9 per cent of the institutions selected for study were historically Negro institutions. The ten most favored subjects, in the order of their preference were Education; Medicine; Social Work; Home Economics; Commerce and English; Fine Arts; Music; Dentistry; Nursing; and Chemistry. An aggregate sum of \$1.2 million had been expended in tuition scholarships for Negroes pursuing out-of-state study, by Southern states since the inception of the program.⁹²

In the Negro's pursuit for equality in education, the separate but equal doctrine continued to be challenged in state courts. The ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson was cited to validate the state's refusal to provide schooling for Negro and white students on the same campus. Ironically, in the same document, the dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan also rang forth each time the Plessy case was reviewed.

The white race deems itself to be the dominate race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage and hold fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is not caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.⁹³

The elimination of blacks from state universities, primarily at the graduate and professional school levels, created an inviting target for champions of racial equality. The immediate goal of admitting Negroes to these institutions was overshadowed by the much larger purpose of establishing the principle that the requirements of due process and equal protection imposed upon the states the obligation to supply opportunities that were in reality equal. It was hoped that the enormous expense of maintaining two sets of genuinely equal facilities would

perhaps force the abandonment of the segregation system in higher education, and then by degree, in other areas of society as well.

The more optimistic among the engineers of these judicial challenges hoped that the courts would eventually find separate facilities inherently unequal, not only because of intangible privations and disabilities that might accrue to the disadvantaged race when cloistered in their own institutions, but also because the act of segregation carried with it the implications of inferiority and disparagement for the minority race.

The NAACP's legal strategies continued relentlessly to press for an increasingly literal interpretation of equality. Gradually they succeeded in establishing the concept that "separate but equal" could not satisfy the demands of equal protection; that only actual shared use of the same public institutions would suffice.

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CHAPTER FIVE

MIDDLE TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN CONSENSUS MORALITY

AND EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGIES: 1938 - 1954

Some decline in anti-Negro thought was being experienced in America during the period between 1938 and 1954. Scientific data that had been gathered regarding the Negro provided evidence that persuaded many educated Americans to abandon earlier notions of white superiority. A confirmation of a more liberal view of the Negro came from Gunnar Myrdal in his comprehensive study made under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation. According to Myrdal, there was evidence that during the war, the American Negro became a problem to the conscience of the American mind. In his book, An American Dilemma, Myrdal indicated that the Negro "is a problem to most Americans because of the conflict between the American creed and the American deed."¹

The Negro was deeply committed to bring about change in American thought regarding his status in society. World War II played a role in bringing about change in American thought in that a new national dedication to the historic American credo of liberty and equality was beginning to emerge. By 1950 there were more than a million eligible Negro voters in the South. During the Korean War, the Negro soldier received more recognition than in previous wars. In 1953 the Defense Department set a terminal date for segregated schools in the South operated at military installations. Numerous cases were brought before the courts involving inequality in primary and secondary schools. The courts consistently held that if separate schools were to be maintained they would have to be equal in fact.²

A growing body of scientific literature on race was beginning to affect many of the country's opinion molders. Well before 1954, anti-Negro thought

was being repudiated in educational circles. Support for the concept of Negro inferiority had begun to weaken as scientists examined earlier research. A few brief passages will highlight some of the changing attitudes toward racial differences. The following excerpt is from a basic college textbook in introductory anthropology.

In view of all these facts, the only reasonable conclusion is that there is no scientific evidence to show either racial inferiority or superiority on the part of any of the major races of mankind. . . . In short, in the present state of our knowledge, the concept of biologically determined psychological differences between hereditary varieties of mankind is scientifically useless. We achieve the best results in interpreting and predicting culture by proceeding, for the present, on the assumption that all normal hereditary varieties and subgroups of the species. . . are fundamentally equal in cultural ability. In other words, the ability factor may be considered to be relatively constant, and we may proceed to the consideration of more significant variables in our consideration of cultural phenomena.³

Another sample is taken from Wilton M. Krogman:

Races react to one another, especially in a majority-minority situation, in two interrelated ways; in the first place they may be . . . set apart by visible markers of morphological difference; skin color, hair form, and so on. This tends to enhance a feeling of group solidarity, of the we-versus-you attitude. All things being equal the more marked the visible differences the more manifest will be the feeling of group consciousness or of group attitude (in the present conflict, for example, the average American soldier reacts much more vigorously against the Japanese than against the Nazi). In the second place it is assumed. . . using the majority physical type and cultural level as a standard, that the presumed cultural inadequacies of the minority group are related to the fact that they differ physically from the dominant group. The logic may run something like this; the Negro's skin is black, and. . . because he is set apart in this fashion it must follow that he is likewise set apart, in some mysterious fashion, in social and cultural aptitude; his cultural level is not inadequate because his skin is black, but because the whites behave toward a darker skin as though it were a major bio-social difference. The difference in skin color gets the blame, but it is the social attitude that is at fault.⁴

The importance of the foregoing views to education is that this emerging

ideology reached the general public indirectly through intellectuals who read such books, or studied them in college, and then transmitted the ideas from the pulpit, in educational circles, and from magazine and newspapers. More directly accessible to the large public was a ten-cent pamphlet prepared under the supervision of a committee of the American Association of Scientific Workers, and written during World War II as a contribution to the war effort. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, both Columbia University anthropologists, issued in their widely circulated Public Affairs Pamphlet series, opinions and studies that supported the current transition in American thinking. However, bitter attacks were still being made regarding this new ideology by a number of racial separatist groups.⁵

The most careful investigations of intelligence have been made in America among Negroes and whites. The scientists realizes that every time he measures intelligence in any man, black or white, his results show the intelligence that man was born with plus what happended to him since he was born. The scientist has a lot of proof of this. For instance, in the First World, intelligence tests were given to the American Expeditionary Forces; they showed that Negroes made a lower score on intelligence test than whites. But tests also showed that Northerners, black and white, had higher scores than Southerners, black and white. Everyone knows that Southerners are inborn equal of Northerners, but in 1917 many southern states' per capita expenditures for school were only fractions of those in northern states, and housing, diet and income were far below average too. Since the vast majority of Negroes lived in the South, their score on the intelligence test was a score they got not only as Negroes, but as Americans who had a grown up under poor conditions in the South. Scientists therefore compared the scores of Southern whites and Northern Negroes.

Median Scores on A.E.F. Intelligence Tests

Southern Whites:

Mississippi	41.25
Kentucky	41.50
Arkansas	41.55

Northern Negroes:

New York	45.02
Illinois	47.35
Ohio	49.50

Negroes with better luck after they were born got higher scores than whites with less luck. The white race did badly where economic conditions were bad and schooling was not provided, and Negroes living under better conditions surpassed them. The differences did not arise because they were white or black, but because of differences in income, education, cultural advantages, and other opportunities.⁶

Racism throughout the country was alive. Millions of Americans, North and South were not silent regarding their opinion of the Negro's place in American life. However, Nordic-supremacy literature offered nothing new in the face of mounting scientific evidence of the essential equality of men.

One of the more forceful voices in the area of racism in the 1930s and 1940s was Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi's United States senator and governor. He was an advocate of transporting blacks to Africa, and was given to such public utterances as "the nigger is only 150 years from the jungles of Africa (where he cut up) fried nigger steak for breakfast."⁶ He adamantly informed blacks that Mississippi had no intention of permitting them to vote, no matter what the Supreme Court and the U.S. Constitution had to say on the matter. The senator wrote a book in which he examined race relations. He informs the reader that it would be better to see civilization "blotted out with the atomic bomb than to see it slowly but surely destroyed in the maelstrom of miscegenation, interbreeding, intermarriage, and mongrelization."⁸

If we sit with Negroes at our tables, if we attend social functions with them as our social equals, if we disregard segregation in all other relations, is it then possible that we maintain it fixedly in the marriage of the South's Saxon sons and daughters? The answer must be "No". By the absolute denial of social equality to the Negro, the barriers between the races are firm and strong. But if the middle wall of the social partition should be broken down, then the mingling of the tides of life would surely begin. . . . The Southern white race, the Southern Caucasian, would be irretrievably doomed.

White supremacy, an ideology of master race philosophy was infused into the thinking of many respected Americans. Hero, Charles A. Lindbergh, at the

beginning of World War II, thought it would be better for the United States to make common cause with Germany, as well as France and Britain, to preserve the supremacy and purity of "that most priceless possession, our. . .European blood. . .against dilution by foreign races," than to "commit racial suicide" by dissipating her strength in a losing war against Germany.¹⁰

Discrimination, rejection, brutality and insults that had been known by their fathers were still encountered by millions of black Americans during this period. The penalty for being black continued to be enormous. Segregation with its stigma of inferiority was still the overarching fact of African-American life. Large numbers of blacks still lived in decayed, shabby, rat-infested housing, located in congested ghettos. There were still bitter social rebuffs, the paralyzing differentials in job opportunities and the struggles for economic equity. The right to quality of education was a major concern for blacks. The battle was on by Negro leaders to clear the ground for social transformation through increased appeals to the courts.¹¹

The Negro community had matured into a discontented and strong force. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had won its place as the most respected of all Negro organizations, and its influence had permeated Negro urban communities in the North and South. Its success in the courts, where equality was sought, inspired a new confidence in American law and order. Many Negroes would come to believe that the overthrow of segregation was a possibility. NAACP lawyers developed a strategy for attacking segregation in public education at its points of greatest vulnerability. This was the point where no claim of "separate but equal" could be reasonably made, and where no promise of equalization could be realistically given. There were virtually no public graduate and professional schools open to Negroes in the South. NAACP

lawyers believed that judges would understand the and shortcomings of separate legal education with which some of the cases were concerned. Since it would be financially impossible to furnish true equality, the notion existed by many that desegregation would be the only practicable way to fulfill the constitutional obligation of equal protection.¹²

It was during this period that it became clear that state and federal courts would have to re-examine issues relating to the separate but equal doctrine in education. The above cultural backdrop provides the reader with information regarding the events that set the tone for change surrounding equality in education. Negro leaders suggested that educational rights for all people should no longer be in question in America. But the American educational system should be responsive to the need of all people.

EDUCATIONAL VIEWS: MORE SEPARATE THAN EQUAL

The quest for responsiveness to the need for equality in education continued to emerge in the form of literary documentation as well as through litigation. Doxey A. Wilkerson, a Negro educator and initiator of one of the most comprehensive studies regarding education during the period wrote, "Negro Education and Social Progress." He contends that Negro education fails to serve the ends of "social progress." Segregated schools systems, he stated, "strengthen and perpetuate the barriers of caste." Wilkerson points out that they are limited and inferior facilities that keep the Negro masses in ignorance.¹³ Wilkerson harshly condemns the systematic lack of support of black educational institutions, elementary school through college. Going beyond the debate over the kind of education Negroes should have, Wilkerson articulated the failure of American education to live up to its promise of equality of educational opportunity.¹⁴

In the area of literature responding to education and racism, the first

volume of the Negro College Quarterly was published during this period to provide research regarding solutions to problems faced by Negroes in higher education. The Negro press, now numbering about 200 newspapers, numerous magazines and periodicals, openly stated views regarding educational inequities.

The "separate but equal" doctrine of education prevailed until 1954. Segregation in education remained part of the larger pattern of American segregation. It was recognized by many as a basic problem to be solved, and by others as an entity which should not be disturbed. While it was more flagrant and more thorough in the South and was supported there by legal sanctions, segregation was a national phenomenon. It was sustained by social pressures, customs and folkways. ¹⁵

The "separate but equal" issue in education was an attempt to reconcile two contradictory ideas. On the one hand, Negroes as citizens were to be given the same educational opportunities provided to white citizens; on the other hand, if Caucasians were to maintain their superior status, Negro citizens could not be given the same educational opportunities. These contradictory ideas were not reconciled in the "separate but equal" doctrine but by means of this doctrine, one idea was said to mean the other. If properly understood, "equal" education really meant unequal education for certain citizens. The "separate but equal" doctrine as it was expounded and practiced by the dominant group was always strong on equality in theory and equally strong on separateness in practice. It was meant to satisfy the American commitment to democratic education as an ideal. However, there was a reluctance to see the ideal put into general practice.¹⁶

Segregation in education was justified by the same principle which justified slavery in the pre-war days. The defenders of the slave system convinced

themselves that the slave was an inferior being. The segregated school was a symbol of the Negro's inferior status in American society. Beyond the question of equal physical facilities, equal salaries for teachers, equal expenditure of funds, (discussed in previous chapters) there remained the fundamental objection to segregated education which assumed inferiority in the subordinate group and superiority in the dominant one.¹⁷

By the end of the 1930s, concern about the plight of Negro education was increasing. Sharp inequalities between the support given white and black Southern colleges, enumerated the difficult conditions facing Southern black school children, and argued that the educational inequities embedded in segregation undermined equality of educational opportunity.¹⁸

The Southern Negro college stands at the apex of a system of school segregation. Experiencing directly the limitations characteristically imposed upon the Negro separate school, it suffers the further disadvantage of the cumulative deficiencies which it inherits in its students from inferior elementary and secondary schools. Potentially, the Negro college occupies a position of vital importance to the welfare of both the Negro race and the country as a whole. From it should emanate that able and wholesome leadership so sorely needed by the Negro people. The Negro college functions to aid the majority of Negroes to become better adjusted to the social and economic structure of the land, the strength of the Nation is significantly enhanced. . . .¹⁹

Despite the inequities and the difficulties rural blacks faced in going to school, a prominent sociologist, Charles Johnson, found many blacks committed to education. Johnson's work made clear how deeply embedded faith in education had become and how poverty kept many from attaining an education. Although many reasons for their interest in "schooling" were given, education appears to have had two significant meanings for most Negro youths and their parents. First, education makes people literate. Many Negroes believed that their poverty was a result of their inability to read and write. They believed that education could

protect them from fraud that was often practiced upon ignorant people who were tenant farmers.

A Bolivar County, Mississippi, tenant farmer said:

Children need all the education they can get and ought to get enough to keep people from cheating them. They should go through high school, and farther if they can.²⁰

Second, education was regarded as a means of escape from the prospect of an unpleasant occupation which is frequently associated in the minds of Negroes with a low racial status. The hope that education could offer a way to escape is shared by a deserted, sharecropper mother of six children.

I plan to let the children keep on in school as long as they want, until they want to leave. It sure is hard, but I'm willin' to struggle alone to help them all I can. If a child ain't got a good education now days it be mighty hard on them. If I'd had more of it I wouldn't be so hard put now. I went to the sixth and had to come out to work. I don't know nothin' but farmin' and it's hard makin' a livin' on the farm. My girl is the oldest and I'm goin' to help her stay in school. She's smart, too.²¹

In spite of roadblocks, Negro Americans continued to seek educational opportunities. In the North, Negroes organized boycotts aimed at attacking segregated schools. They fought to eliminate prejudiced textbooks and to gain more access to adequate vocational education programs. At the same time, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People began legal strategy against segregation and the doctrine of "separate but equal" that would eventually bring it to the Brown V. Board of Education Supreme Court decision in 1954.²² The issues of race, poverty, and equality of opportunity had been building since the mid-1930s. They took on new dimensions in May 1954, when the Supreme Court unanimously declared that "the segregation of children in the public schools solely on the basis of race" was unconstitutional. In stunning and simple language, the court had found that equal educational opportunity was an essential right,

that segregation by law stigmatized the minority, and therefore that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."²³ Litigation regarding Brown will be examined more closely later in this Chapter.

Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist on Negro Education in the U.S. Office of Education in 1943, indicated that the goals and activities of Negroes are common with those of the majority group in America. He pointed out that the equality of educational opportunity to Negroes was in the interest of national welfare. He recommends to Negro colleges:

1. That they collect as much information as possible about Negroes and techniques of race adjustment and activities and disseminate this information to both Negroes and white persons.
2. That they cooperate with other colleges to develop union library lists on the Negro and race relation and arrange inter-library loans.
3. That those which have not already done so inaugurate the scientific study of the Negro and other races and their contributions to American and world culture as a part of the curriculum offering.
4. That they recognize their special responsibility to this minority group and cooperate with other community agencies to develop minority group strategies in attacking inter-racial problem, to encourage civic responsibility and participation and to remove the stigma of inferiority.²⁴

To white colleges and individuals, Caliver recommends:

1. That they join with similar Negro institutions to develop a constructive program for better race relations in line with the suggestions made to Negroes.
2. That, to develop qualified leaders, they work out ways and means of making their facilities available to Negro scholars, and assist in providing opportunities, facilities, and leadership for the development of research among Negroes.
3. That they assume increasingly the responsibility of pointing out to the majority group the economic significance and social implications of providing equality of educational and occupational opportunities for Negroes.
4. That they examine, continually, critically, and fairly the relation between democratic ideals and their practices with respect to consideration and treatment of Negroes.²⁵

According to Dr. Caliver, many guardians of white supremacy immediately saw in the second suggestion to white institutions an attempt to advance the cause of "co-racial education" and hence an effort to "mongrelize the white race." He further stated that the editor of the Jackson (Mississippi) Daily News responded to these recommendations by suggesting that perhaps the U. S. Office of Education "Go straight to Hell." Many white Americans in both the South and the North held strongly to the belief that the separation of the races was best for the country.²⁶

Education has been marked by the continued efforts of Negroes in all sections of the country to secure actual equality of educational opportunity. One of the most significant trends to counteract this effort was referred to as "dogging". Various local school boards develop evaluation criteria that enables them to avoid payment of equal salaries to Negroes. In such widely scattered places as Miami, Florida, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Charleston, South Carolina, local school boards attempt to meet the equal salary suits of Negro teachers by alleging that teachers are not rated according to two racial scales. They have been rated on the basis of such "intangibles," as character, general usefulness, value to the school and the community and general personality. "It is only coincidental that Negro teachers in spite of equal training, experience, and responsibility, all fall below white teachers in these qualities."²⁷

The following case further points out feelings of some community leaders regarding racial ideology and education:

The legal fight for equalization of teachers' salaries reached South Carolina when Miss Viola Duvall, chemistry instructor in Burke Industrial High School, filed a petition asking the U.S. District Court to enjoin the Charleston Board of Education against paying smaller

salaries to Negro teachers than to whites with similar qualifications and responsibilities. It is in Charleston that a local newspaper suggested editorially that all public education beyond the three r's be discontinued in South Carolina, in order that the granting of equal salaries to Negro teachers might be forestalled.²⁸

As we examine the mixed social attitudes of a society in the midst of transition regarding the nation's schools and its own racial ideology, it becomes important to trace during this period how children are told to view themselves and the world around them through school textbooks. The messages and espoused ideology of school texts prepares a generation of children to accept certain beliefs about themselves, relationships with others within their communities and throughout the world. It is here that school communities perpetuate current trends in thinking or provide perspectives that will open up new thinking regarding particular beliefs.

SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

"If education is to prove its great contention that it changes man and remakes society, now is the time for the testing."²⁹ William Bernard in his article, "Education for Tolerance," points out that many who criticize equal educational opportunities for all Americans paradoxically will "weep for China, sigh for Spain, and wax frenetic over the Czechs and Jews, but will ignore the plight of the Negro in his own homeland."³⁰ As we prepare to explore intercultural knowledge, respect, and appreciation for cultural diversity in school textbooks, it is important to begin by ascertaining commonly held ideas about Negroes from white children. A study conducted in Cincinnati, Ohio, surveyed 150 twelve-year-old children in 1942; 150 in 1943, and 174 in 1944. The children were given the Zeligs' Intergroup Attitudes Test. They were told to think of the races and nationalities they liked best and those they liked least and to write them down on the back of the test. They were also asked to give reasons for their

answers. The test contains information regarding childrens' attitudes about Negroes. When the children were asked how they felt about America and Americans, most responded, "Americans are the best. They know the meaning of freedom and democracy." America to them stands for freedom, "good laws, equal rights and democracy for all, good leaders, unselfishness, peacefulness, and good fighters for freedom." America is described as a beautiful country with fine public schools and a fine way of life.

Some children express sympathy for the Negro because he is mistreated. They like him for his happy spirit, his music and religion. The Negro is disliked because he is considered "dirty and greedy and likes to hurt people and is getting too many rights."³¹ Other comments include the following statements by children: "Some Negroes are nice and clearn and honest while others are mean and dirty and like to steal. Negroes are sometimes teased so they start fights and have a bad attitude towards white people."³²

The above excerpts survey from the highlight a range of attitudes expressed by children regarding the American Negro.

An examination of students' beliefs along with an assessment of textbooks is important to the study in that an analysis of both commonly held values of children and espoused ideology in school texts provides some insight into beliefs of the culture. The Negro during the period from 1938 to 1954 continue to be introduced in children's textbooks as a former slave, or employee in the service industry. In some texts, there continues to be illustrations or reference to the Negro. The authors of My Country and Yours, wrote about the American ideal in the introduction of the book.

Our young citizens need to understand now, as never before, the principles upon which the United States of America is founded.

They need to realize that America is, in reality, "the land of the free and home of the brave." They need to feel the depth of their obligations to those who have gone before and their own duty to defend and promote the American way of life.³³

Contributions made by the English, French and Spanish are highlighted, however, the Negro in the text is referred to only as a slave. He is depicted as happy with his lot in life. The illustrator shows the Negro working and singing. The language of this fifth grade social studies text provides students with a concept of how Negroes were perceived in the American society during slavery.

Planters thought they could make a good living only by growing tobacco, cotton, and sugar. Because it was so warm where these crops were grown, they thought farming could be done only by Negro labor. The planters did not believe they could manage free Negroes as well as slaves. They were convinced that they must have slaves and tried to justify their position in every possible way—in the newspaper, in the pulpit, in political campaigns, and in Congress. They said that Negroes were being civilized in America, that they had become Christians, and they were happy.³⁴

The Negro continues to be portrayed as a marginal citizen. Sometimes he is not included in textbooks. In Coast to Coast, third grade children travel throughout the United States, exploring life in various regions of the country. However, the only ethnic group they meet different from the American majority is the American Indian.³⁵

The author of The Brave and Free, a sixth grade reading textbook, highlights the basic purpose of school reading programs:

Reading is looked upon as a process associated with meaningful activity directed toward the satisfaction of basic life needs: Children need social recognition and self-esteem. The need for social recognition springs from man's desire for making and obtaining human response. This need is closely related to, and often indistinguishable from, the universal human desire for status. If the child is to be most successful in school, he should feel not only that he is capable in some type of endeavor, but he should sense also that he is a contributing and necessary member of his group.³⁶

Students learn about the Puritans, cowboys, fearless cats, sheep dogs, eagles and deer. They are introduced to the Indians and French pioneers, however,

the American Negro again does not play a role in The Brave and Free.³⁷

In the second grade reader, Anthing Can Happen, twenty-eight stories were selected for this text. There is no reference or illustration of the American Negro. The stories are designed to enable young readers to learn about the world of work and the numerous jobs held by American workers. The police officers, postal workers, farmers, painters, carpenters, bakers, businessmen, doctors, train conductors and teachers are all white. Students are not provided the opportunity to view the Negro as a contributing member of society or even as a part of the American culture.³⁸

From Sea to Sea is a basic 1945 reader that allows students to discover the vast and wonderful land of America. Children begin their journey on a boat that takes them out to sea. They experience the sun, wind and waves as they explore nature. They travel the hills, plains, mountains and valleys of America while on land. They meet ranchers, cowboys and Indians but never come in contact with a Negro, even when they visit the southern region of the country.³⁹

Barbara Nolen, in her 1951 reader, Do And Dare includes the Negro in one story. He is shown as a pullman porter.

About eight o'clock the porter came through the car. "Shall I make up your bed now, sonny?" he asked kindly. He seemed to know that it was Johnny's bedtime. Johnny said, "Yes, please." Then he asked the old lady, "What time do you go to bed?" "At home," she said slowly, "I go very early to bed. But tonight I think I will just sit here." "Oh, no, ma'am!" cried the porter. "I'll fix your bed now, too, if you want me to."

Johnny and the old lady watched the porter. He pushed two seats together to make a bed. Then he let down, from overhead, another bed. Out of this he took blankets and dark green curtains. He made up the beds and hung the dark green curtains in front of them. When he had finished, everything was neat and cozy.⁴⁰

In her earlier 1942 reader, Fun and Frolic, Barbara Nolen does not involve the Negro as part of the culture. All of the selected stories are written about

the experiences of white children and adults.⁴¹

Nila Smith in her 1947 third grade reader, Over Hill and Plain, creates a world of excitement and adventure for the boys and girls to encounter through reading. She selects many stories that are similar to her 1945 reading textbooks, From Sea To Sea. Students journey by boat, ship, on foot, over highways, and narrow trails to experience the American culture in urban and rural areas. Smith introduces the students to two Chinese boys, Sing Lo and Sing Hi. However, the American Negro again is not included.⁴²

The Our New Friends series published by Scott, Foresman and Company, also known as "Dick and Jane" books, focused primarily on the experiences of the white middle class family. Again, there is no reference or illustration of the Negro child or adult as being part of the American culture.⁴³

Myrtle Quinlan introduces boys and girls to a Negro postal worker in 1953 in her second grade reader, Faces and Places. He is presented as a warm and friendly person. There is no other reference to the Negro in this basic reader.⁴⁴

Living All Your Life provides youngsters with a wealth of interesting educational stories that stress the importance of understanding oneself and the development of meaningful relationships with others. The author's stories explore the past, help students discover the present and learn about "nature's secrets." Her aim in compiling stories and poems for the reader is to "present reading material which develops character and prepares the pupil for the business of vital and useful living." The content is well developed. The reader contains four hundred forty-six pages of writings with no reference to any ethnic group but the white Anglo Saxon.⁴⁵

The author, Clyde Moore in Building Our Town, writes about an all white mythical town to teach young children about how a community develops. He

points out that there are five stages of development in American community life which include the development of friendships, setting goals, and people working together. Again, the American Indian is included in the community with no other ethnic groups.⁴⁶

The American Story is a social studies text concerned with American idealism and love of country. The authors make reference to the Negro only in the context of slavery. The Negro cannot be seen as making any contributions to the culture other than that of working on the master's plantation.

The work day for the slave was shorter in the winter. Women made clothes for their families while the men cut fuel for their cabins from a wood lot on the plantation. On Sundays, they could cut lumber for sale, using the money to buy small comforts. Slaves did not often run away because they were almost sure to be caught with the aid of trained dogs kept for the purpose. The usual method of punishing a slave was by whipping. In those days, most people did not think whipping cruel. White children were frequently whipped by their parents and school teachers. White sailors in the navy and merchant marines were whipped. Harsh punishment of slaves was uncommon unless they rebelled, tried to run away, or were under a brutal overseer.

Slave owners often argued that Negro slaves were better off than white wage earners in the North. The slave was cared for from birth to death and was always sure of food, clothing, shelter, and medicine. He did not have to worry over sickness or old age. He could have a large family of children without fear that they would suffer want. It was to his master's advantage to keep him in good health and see that he was contented.⁴⁷

Mary Celeste, author of The Story of Our Nation, begins her account of the American nation, its beginnings and growth with the colonists and moves on through World War I. The only contribution of the Negro during the Revolutionary War or the Civil War as depicted in the text was their songs. "During the Revolutionary period, as in every other time of war, men were stirred to write songs about their country." The Negro is illustrated in the textbook singing, dancing and playing the banjo. He is not shown as being involved in any war,

including World War I. Students are informed by the author:

The Negro feels that he has been treated unjustly. A group of young Negroes who met to talk over their problems in Washington in 1938 tell why they think that this is so: There is less economic and social security among Negroes than among whites; Negroes do not have as good schools, that is, in the South as do the whites; They wish to go to polls and vote freely; They wish a remedy for the Negro tenant farmers' troubles.

This together with what the Negroes consider social injustice, such as separate accomondations on trains, separate sections in the streetcars, discrimination in hotels and places of public amusement in something that they believe should be remedied.⁴⁸

Historically, the literature of the Negro has been important only to the Negro. A growing race-consciousness among Negroes as a result of crusading black scholars who have determined that the "Negro shall know himself," inspired the publicizing of literature, music, art, history and other phases of American Negro culture among black institutions. The Negro author has been applauded for the most part in isolated circles. Carter G. Woodson was a scholar who shared the Negro experience with young students in a way that textbooks written by the dominate culture did not express.

Carter G. Woodson, referred to by many as the father of Negro history, wrote The Story of The Negro Retold, a history textbook for high school students. The text was first published in 1935, a second edition in 1942, and two other editions in 1945 and 1959 providing a comprehensive view of the Negro. His contributions, education, the price he paid for freedom, experiences in the new world, the role he played in making the world "safe for democracy," World War II, and the Korean war are examined. The text is a story of Negro progress and achievement. The continuing demand for the book by teachers and students and its enthusiastic reception by individual readers led to its revision and enlargement as requested by the Executive Council of the Association for the Study of Negro

Life and History.⁴⁹

In a chapter regarding the education of the Negro, Woodson states:

"The Negro was educated to be a white man and compelled to live a Negro. Crossing the threshold of his alma mater, the Negro graduate was told that he must go back to his people and identify himself with them, but he had not been informed as to their status. He had been given no insight into their background. He had been instructed in the literature, philosophy and history of other people but in nothing of the sort bearing upon those whom he must serve. The white man had written the laws, the history, the religion, the politics and the dual system of education to keep the Negr in his place."⁵⁰

In another book, Woodson interviews a Negro college professor to ascertain how he views himself and his students.

We do not offer here any course in Negro history, Negro literature, or race relations. We study the Negro along with other people. No one should expect you to do any more than this. Question: How do you do this when the Negro is not mentioned in your textbooks except to be condemned? Do you, a teacher in a Negro school, also condemn the race in the same fashion as the writers of your textbooks of history and literature? 'No' we bring the Negro in here and there. How often does 'here and there' connote? Well, you know, Negroes have not done much; and what they have accomplished may be briefly covered by referring to the achievements of a few men and women.

Why is it necessary to give the race special attention in the press, on the rostrum, or in the school room? This idea of projecting the Negro into the foreground does the race much harm by singing continually of his woes and problems and thus alienating the public which desires to give its attention to other things. The gods have so decreed it. Human beings cannot change it.⁵¹

Some Negroes who had succumb to believing that the destiny of their plight was in the hands of other people had come to accept their status in the American social order. However, many other Negroes were unceasing in their determination for equality of rights and full citizenship. In school textbooks as well as in the American culture, the Negro was becoming more visible during this period. However, he had not been accepted or recognized as a viable and contributing member of society.

It should be pointed out that social and educational thought does not exist independently of social forces and social institutions but maintains a complex causal connection with them, both influencing their growth and direction, and in turn being influenced by them. No adequate understanding of Negro racial thought can be given without an analysis of the impact of the dominant culture's racial philosophies on the Negro's view of himself.⁵²

Student's textbooks during this period were a reflection of the Negro's ability to still remain somewhat invisible within the society. The Negro continued to play a less than vital role in the culture. Textbook Publishers portrayed him as a nineteenth century slave, a twentieth century servant or not at all.

Just as black scholars, athletes, performing artists, writers, sociologists, and historians, within their chosen occupational fields worked toward steadily chipping away at the concept of segregation in the culture, and the ideology of the superior race versus the inferior race, the NAACP was hard at work, taking a legal stand on issues relating to the "separate but equal" doctrine in educational practices throughout the American school system.

SEGREGATED EDUCATION AND THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

The first case after Gong Lum v. Rice to present for consideration in the United States Supreme Court related to segregated public education was Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada, decided in 1938. The decision contains the following language: "The State has sought to fulfill that obligation of equal educational advantages for Negroes by furnishing equal facilities in separate schools, a method the validity of which has been sustained by our decisions." The decisions which the Court then cited to support the foregoing pronouncement included Gong Lum v. Rice, in which the issue of the constitutionality of segregated education was assumed, but not considered, and which really only decided that Chinese could

be classified as "colored" for the purposes of public education; Cumming v. Board of Education, which specifically excluded the question of the constitutionality of segregated public education; and Plessy v. Ferguson which involved issues of segregation in public transportation.⁵³ The Court again compares a law regarding an intrastate passenger on a public conveyance to seat himself in a segregated section or car with a law requiring a student to receive his education in a segregated institution.

Lloyd Lionel Gaines had graduated from Missouri's state-supported black college, Lincoln University, in June 1935 and wanted to go to law school. Lincoln had no law school. The law school at the University of Missouri refused Gaines' application and instructed him to apply either to Lincoln, which in theory could provide him with a legal education, or to an out-of-state law school. If he chose the latter, the state would pay for any tuition that was in excess of what Gaines would have paid if enrolled at the Missouri law school.

The court held that to provide legal training within the state for whites, while denying it to Negroes and requiring them to go outside the state for legal education was held a denial of equal rights to the enjoyment of a privilege which the state had created. It further indicated that the payment of tuition for study in another state did not remove the discrimination. Chief Justice Hughes went on to emphasize that "manifestly, the obligation of the State to give the protection of equal laws can be performed only where its laws operate, that is within its own jurisdiction. It is there that the equality of legal right must be maintained."⁵⁴ The principles that separate educational facilities must be equal and that a state cannot attain the salvation of white supremacy through vicariously utilizing colleges and universities in other states to take unwanted citizens were examined.

This case provides a glimpse at educational issues that were raised regarding educational access and equality. It further heightens ones awareness as to the possible future of biracial education in the American culture.

The principle of "separate but equal" was left unimpaired by the Gaines case. Two years later in Bluford v. Canada, when Lucille Bluford, a Negro, sued the university's registrar for admission to the school of journalism, the United States District Court of Missouri reaffirmed that a state's right, under the Constitution of the United States, to furnish separate but equal schools for the races had not been in any way disparaged by the Gaines decision.⁵⁵ In Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, another step was taken toward advancing the notion that separate educational facilities that are "equal" may not always be available to Negro students. Ada Sipuel applied for admission to the University of Oklahoma Law School, but was refused because of her color. When she was advised to seek entry into a separate law school for Negroes, soon to be established, she declined. The case was argued before the United States Supreme court by Thurgood Marshall for the NAACP, and elicited from the court the ruling that the demands of the equal protection clause were not met by mere future availability of equal facilities; according to the clause, they were to be available at the time of the petition. Since the only law school which the state maintained was the state university, Attorney Marshall submitted that Miss Sipuel should be allowed to enter the University of Oklahoma Law School. The court made its point in the following paragraph.⁵⁶

The petitioner is entitled to secure legal education afforded by a state institution. To this time, it has been denied her although during the same period many white applicants have been afforded legal education by the State. The State must provide it for her in conformity with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth

Amendment and provide it as soon as it does for applicants of any other group. The judgment of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma is reversed and the cause is remanded to that Court for proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion. The mandate shall issue forthwith. Reversed.⁵⁷

Two years after the Sipuel ruling, the case of Parker v. University of Delaware came before a federal court. Approval of the principle of separate schools was given; however, the court ordered the admission of a Negro to a white state college when it found the Negro college inferior, the justices refusing to hold that the latter was inferior merely because it was a segregated school, but because it lacked in substance what the white college offered. The ideology of equality in the courts was beginning to change.⁵⁸

After the Gaines case in 1938, West Virginia admitted Negroes to its graduate schools; In 1948, Arkansas voluntarily admitted Negroes to the medical and law schools. Kentucky repealed a law requiring segregation in public and private schools, as a result a number of them admitted Negroes.⁵⁹

The next cases that strengthened the movement toward desegregation in schools were landmark cases that took place on June 5, 1950. The United States Supreme Court handed down simultaneous opinions which undermined the whole structure of segregation in the cases of McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, and Sweatt v. Painter, both involving higher education.

The Sipuel ruling kept intact the Plessy doctrine that separate facilities do not inherently offend the equal protection clause. However, the definition of equality of facilities was in transition and in the process of taking a new meaning. In McLaurin v. Oklahoma George W. McLaurin applied for admission to the University of Oklahoma to pursue a doctoral degree in education. He was initially denied admission solely because of his race. Based upon the outcome of the Sipuel case, Mr. McLaurin was granted permission to attend. However,

he was assigned a specific chair to sit in during classes, a special seat in the library, and a specific chair and the table when eating in the cafeteria. He was served only after all other students had left. In the case of Sweatt, the State of Texas had no law school that would admit a black student, therefore, an attempt was made to construct a law school for one student. The Supreme Court ruled that it was unacceptable and unconstitutional, arguing that "education takes place not only in the classroom setting, but among graduate and professional students and faculty members readily available for discussion."⁶⁰ The court went on to say that it is through the interchange of ideas with other students that learning takes place to its fullest. In finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, the court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school."⁶¹ The court however, still reserved decision on the question whether Plessy v. Ferguson should be held inapplicable to public education.

The court also referred to law as a highly learned profession and to the law school as a proving ground for legal learning and practice which is not and cannot be effective "in isolation from individuals and institutions with which the law interacts."⁶² By excluding from the Negro law school 85 per cent of the population of Texas, including most of the lawyers, witnesses, jurors, judges, and other officials with whom Sweatt would be interacting with as an attorney, the state was in another way denying the substantial equality guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.⁶³

The brief for Sweatt cited data to demonstrate that physical equality could not be possible under a system of enforced segregation. "In 1949, Negroes

constituted 7.7 per cent of the population of the United States and southern whites, 26.7 per cent. The South was spending 22.3 per cent of the national total for higher education. Of this percentage, Negroes received 1.8 per cent and whites received 20.5 per cent, or a per capita expenditure of \$4.28 for whites and \$1.32 for Negroes. Sixteen per cent of the white universities were accredited by the American Association of Universities, only 5.1 per cent of Negro institutions were accredited. Howard University was federally financed. There was no publicly supported accredited Negro institution of higher learning. "Such variations in expenditures were inevitably reflected in qualitative and quantitative differences in curricula, faculties, libraries, laboratories and general physical facilities."⁶⁴

Chief Justice Vinson in the Sweatt case repeated the familiar rule that the court will not decide constitutional issues outside the context of a particular case and even then will draw such decisions as narrowly as possible.⁶⁵ The Court accordingly refused to examine Plessy, thereby passively approving the "equal but separate" doctrine. However, in light of the ruling in Sweatt and McLaurin, the segregation in public education seemed constitutionally doomed. It was hoped that once the court emphasized equality to the point of requiring identical facilities on a nondiscriminatory basis, there could no longer be a constitutional justification for segregated education.⁶⁶

During this period, a large number of cases were being presented before the lower courts attacking educational inequalities in primary and secondary schools. It would be difficult for courts not to rule that equal facilities must be provided to Negro students. Alternatively, there existed the possibility that the court would follow the Sweatt and McLaurin cases and hold that even

superficially equal schools are unequal by the very fact of their segregation; that is, however, more difficult to prove in the primary grades than in graduate schools. The second alternative would mean the end of segregation in schools. Georgia anticipated the latter and provided that if segregation is forbidden, the state will give no money to any non-segregated schools. The white population would then be forced to either defy the Supreme Court or deprive children and adults their right to equal educational opportunities.⁶⁷

THE RIGHT TO AN EDUCATION: NOT SEPARATE, BUT EQUAL

In examining problems of racial relationships in America, it is wise to remember that the basic thought regarding racial ideology was set in the long history of Negro-white relationships. The major distinguishing features of American minority group problems center around ethnicity and cultural attitudes which are supported by the social structure. These provide the motivation behind much of the prejudiced behavior and attitudes in this country. They developed originally to defend the economic and political advantages of Negro slaveholding in the face of spreading democratic ideology. The concept of civil rights also grew up in connection with the Negro: it originally referred to the rights secured to citizens of the United States by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The concept of civil rights has broadened with the years to refer to all positive rights of citizens that are founded on a political, legal, economic or social basis.⁶⁸

In an effort to continue to broaden the notion of civil rights for all citizens, lawyers promoting educational equality began to examine their own legal approaches in attacking the "separate but equal" doctrine. During the time that legal proceedings were being held in the Sweatt v. Painter case, forty outstanding lawyers in the field of civil rights met in New York and decided to abandon the

quality approach and to attack segregation as unconstitutional. They found that a basic weakness in it has been a separate case had to be tried in order to determine whether a particular school or school district provided equality. A test of this magnitude throughout the South would take years and require huge sums of money. Moreover, it had been doubtful that there would be enough qualified legal talent available for that purpose. The consensus among the lawyers was that it was because of the equality approach that many children were suffering from the evils of segregation. They felt it would be almost necessary to employ on a large scale, full time, authorities in education, economics, psychology, and sociology, to serve as expert witnesses in the equality approach. Some believed that court decisions would not be followed if given in cases in certain areas of the South. Therefore, many civil rights lawyers considered concentrating legal action in more favorable sectors.⁶⁶

In line with decisions reached in New York, numerous suits were filed and tried in Washington, D.C., South Carolina, and other states, attacking segregation statutes as unconstitutional. Through attacking the constitutionality of the segregation statutes, the cases would move more swiftly through the legal system in that they could be appealed and go directly before the Supreme Court. The rationale for this course of action was that in the past, every case where the Court had been given a chance to decide a segregation case on the ground of lack of equality, it had so decided and declined to pass upon the question of segregation per se.⁷⁰

Bolling v. Sharpe is illustrative of this direct challenge of segregation laws as repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. In this case, the plaintiff was a minor child attending one of the Negro junior high schools in the District of Columbia. The plaintiff sought admission to a white school, and was denied

admission solely on the basis of race and color. In the Bolling case, the basis of the complaint was that the board of education was construing Acts of Congress incorrectly and wrongfully excluding petitioners from Sousa Junior High. The complaint further stated that the Board of Education was excluding petitioners in an exercise of its administrative power, and that it had no constitutional power to classify students by race or color for purposes of education. The board was alleged to have deprived petitioner of liberty and property in violation of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and to have violated the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The importance of this case is the assimilation of equal protection into due process of law, in which the court invalidated segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia as a violation of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, and thereby returned to the merger of due process and equal protection which was common in the congressional debate on the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision in Bolling v. Sharpe not only held expressly that due process of law condemns federal discriminations based on race or color, but it was the first decision to invalidate congressional policy on this basis. Distinctions based on race "must be scrutinized with particular care," said Chief Justice Warren, "because they are contrary to our traditions and hence constitutionally suspect." Liberty, the Chief Justice indicated, cannot be restricted except for a proper governmental objective. Segregation in public education is not related to any proper governmental objective, and thereby "imposes on Negro children of the District of Columbia a burden that constitutes an arbitrary deprivation of their liberty contrary to the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment."⁷¹ The ruling in the Bolling case leads into the class action suit that follows.

BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

In 1954 a class action suit originating in four states (Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware) was placed before the United States Supreme Court. Minor Negro plaintiffs sought to obtain admission to public schools on a nonsegregated basis. On direct appeals by plaintiffs from adverse decisions in the United States District Courts, the court held that segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprives the children of the minority group of several educational opportunities which is in contradiction to the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.⁷²

In resolving the question whether segregation of races in public schools constituted a denial of equal protection of the laws, even though the tangible facilities provided might be equal, the court considered public education in light of its full development and present status throughout the nation, and not in light of conditions prevailing at time of adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court further stated the following:

The opportunity of an education, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. U.S.C.A. Const. Amend. 14.

The segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprives the children of minority group of equal educational opportunities, and amounts to a deprivation of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. U.S.C.A. Const. Amend. 14.

The doctrine of "separate by equal" has no place in the field of public education, since separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. U.S.C.A. Const. Amend. 14.

In view of fact that actions raising question of constitutional validity of segregation of races in public schools were class actions, and because of the wide applicability of decision holding that segregation

was denial of equal protection of laws, and the great variety of local conditions the formation of decrees presented problems of considerable complexity requiring that cases be restored to the docket so that court might have full assistance of parties in formulating appropriate decrees. U.S.C.A. Const. Amend.⁷³

In reviewing the cases from the four different states, Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware, Chief Justice Warren stated: "They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion."⁷⁴

In each case, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, sought the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they have been denied admission to school attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the "separate but equal" doctrine announced by the Court in Plessy v. Ferguson. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment had been accorded when the races were provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities were separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools were not "equal," and that hence they were deprived on the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 term, and reargument was heard this term on certain questions propounded by the court. Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. It

covered exhaustively consideration of the amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the amendment. The most avid proponents of the Post-Civil War amendments intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. It is further stated in the Brown, "What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty."

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education for most Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states.⁷⁵ The court went on to say:

Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state imposed discriminations against the Negro race. The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, *supra*, involving not education but transportation. American courts have

since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. In Cumming v. Board of Education of Richmond County, Gong Lum v. Rice, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro student of the same educational qualifications. State of Missouri ex rel. Gaines V. Canada, Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma, McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents. In none of these cases was it necessary to re-examine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in Sweatt v. Painter, supra, the Court expressly reserved decision the question whether Plessy v. Ferguson should be held inapplicable to public education.⁷⁶

Here, unlike Sweatt v. Painter, the court found that the Negro and white schools involved had been equalized or were being equalized with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers and other "tangible" factors. "Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education."⁷⁷

In approaching the problem the court indicated that the hands of time could not be turned back to 1868 when the amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when Plessy v. Ferguson was written. "We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws."⁷⁸

The Supreme Court's view of education reached beyond the purview of "schooling" and the comparison of educational facilities. Its perspective took into consideration the intrinsic value of education in a democratic society and its implications regarding citizenship and individual self-worth.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the

great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today, it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment.

In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.⁷⁹

In his findings, Justice Warren presents the following question: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?" His response was, "We believe it does."

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law therefore, has a tendency to (retard) the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system. Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in Plessy v. Ferguson, contrary to this finding is rejected.

The modern authority referred to by the Court included the research findings introduced to the Court by Kenneth B. Clark, a psychologist, and others. They played a significant role in the overall finding of the Court. It was the first time that psychological/sociological data had been presented to the Court to support its decision. Clark's involvement in the Brown case was viewed as a matter of social engineering in the legal process.⁸⁰ Clark's name was the

first cited in Chief Justice Warren's footnote 11 in Brown. The footnote states the following:

11. K.B. Clark, *Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality development* (Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950); Witmer and Kotinsky, *Personality in the Making* (1952), c. VI; Deutscher and Chein, *the Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation; A Survey of Social Science Opinion*, 26 *J. Psychol.* 259 (1948); Chein, *What are the Psychological Effects of Segregation Under Conditions of Equal Facilities?*, 3 *Int. J. Opinion and Attitudes Res.* 229 (1949); Brameld, *Educational Costs, in Discrimination and National Welfare* (MacIver, ed. 1949), 44-48; Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (1949), 674-681. And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944).

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.⁸¹

It fell to Chief Justice Warren to undo the great injustice against which Justice Harlan who fifty-eight years prior to the Brown case had protested in vain. To future generations of Americans, Justice Warren will undoubtedly be best known as the author of the historic decision of Brown v. Board of Education, which held that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. With uncanny accuracy, his predecessor, Justice Harlan prophesied in his dissenting opinion in Plessy that the Court's holding would, in time, "prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the Dred Scott case."⁸²

Reaction to the decision was mixed. There was the anticipated defiance in such states as South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi, whose governors had threatened to abolish public schools rather than permit white and Negro children to attend the same schools. Fiery crosses were burned in some Texas and Florida

towns, and scattered groups of whites organized to resist the decision.⁸³

The Supreme court remanded the cases to the courts of origin, because of their proximity to local conditions. The court made it clear, however, that although the lower courts should be guided by equitable principles including practical flexibility, adjustment, and reconciliation of public and private needs, the vitality of the constitutional principles set forth in its 1954 decision could not be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them. It then instructed the lower court to require the defendants to make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the ruling of 17 May 1954.⁸⁴

The Plessy decision had signified the highest sanction to racial segregation enforced by law, its doctrine of "separate but equal" encouraged, and became the touchstone and rationalization for, further segregation under compulsion of law, not only in transportation, but in every aspect of human relations, from the cradle to the grave. American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century.⁸⁵

The doctrine produced separateness that resulted in inequality. There was awareness and concern regarding the application and results of the "separate but equal" doctrine to the life of the American Negro. During two World Wars and the Korean conflict, the American goal was to preserve democracy from the racism of the Nazis and Fascists and other kinds of Communist totalitarianism, that the doctrine was directly responsible for. The great gap between American ideals and American practices regarding racism, encouraged people from all races throughout the world to focus on the United States to see what the exponent and leader of democracy would do concerning race relations at home. It is in this context that the public school racial segregation cases were decided.

The court's ruling was issued in the form of two decisions. One dealt with the cases in the four states. A separate decision was issued in the District of Columbia case because the District of Columbia is under exclusive federal jurisdiction.

The most noteworthy features of the decisions are (a) the explicit recognition that segregation is inherently discriminatory; the court's reliance upon the imponderable and psychological factors which, though intangible, provide meaning and vitality to physical paraphernalias; the delay in issuing the decrees to implement the ruling of the Court; the clarity and simplicity of the opinions and the unanimity of the justices.⁸⁶

What the Supreme Court did therefore, was not to abolish de facto segregation, but only to knock out the legal underpinning of governmental enforced racial segregation. It put the country on the road toward the final elimination of the heritage of slavery. The court was aware that complete integration would not occur immediately or in the next several years. Social and economic forces would continue to play a considerable role in determining the rapidity of the transition to integration. By its decision in the public school segregation cases, the court accelerated the evolution of equality in American thought.⁸⁷

The pace of change in Negro life was becoming notably accelerated. The diminishing black farm population was climbing increasingly into the small landowner group. Health standards crept steadily upward. There was a growing literacy rate among those under age forty. The metriculation rate of Negroes to colleges and universities was on the rise. New employment opportunities were beginning to open up for Negro workers in industry, in skilled and quasi-professional vocations, as well as in the professions; a few labor unions were lowering their racial bars; and the substantial progress toward the equalization of educational

opportunity in graduate and professional schools promised a gathering momentum for the years ahead. This era brought for the most part, about the end of lynching; the leveling of barriers in professional sports; an increase in the number of appointed and elected federal, state, city county and local governmental officials; the outlawing of segregation and discrimination in public places; the judicial invalidation of racial restrictive covenants; and above all, the Supreme Court's decisions of 1954, decreeing the end of segregation in the public schools and other public facilities.⁸⁸

The idea of racial tolerance was slowly becoming a part of the American vocabulary. The country's identification with the cause of democracy and its position as the leader of the free world, played a role in how America wanted to be viewed by other countries. The stultifying Social Darwinism of an earlier generation was slowly giving way to the ideology of a social philosophy of racial democracy. By the middle of the 1950s every major church body in America had condemned racial discrimination and intolerance in principle.⁸⁹ An accumulating body of literature by scholars and publicists, white and black, brought to an expanding audience, scientific data on race which was overwhelmingly on the side of equality, and went virtually unchallenged by any considerable literature of rebuttal. By 1954, racism was fast losing its intellectual respectability. The ground was being cleared for a social transformation. However, the struggle to advance progress in the area of educational equality would continue to be an issue that the penalty for being black was still enormous. The outcome of Brown would in the perspective of history, be a triumph whose legal foundations were laid in the years 1938 to 1954, on groundwork first begun in 1863.

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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Brown decision symbolized more than just issues relating to education. The outcome of the decision sparked within the Negro a revelation that there was hope for justice and equality in American life. The decisions of the court set off a dynamic that had profound social and educational implications in the areas of racial ideology and the attainment of equal rights. As a result of the desegregation experience, there emerged certain courses of action that a state could not take. For example, a state could not withhold state aid to those districts in the process of desegregating their schools; and could not preferentially close its schools which were under court order to desegregate.¹

As school desegregation proceeded in the border states, it became apparent that the North was also guilty of promoting segregation in schools. While the South had legislated social segregation, the North had indirectly created an equally segregated condition through its housing developments, zoning ordinances, and informal restrictive housing practices. The North was able to buy its way into suburban segregated schools, while the South had legislated a segregated school system for the perpetuation of a segregated southern society.² However, a point to consider regarding the Supreme Court and the Brown decision: the court did not "impose" the law. It "discovered" the law in the nature of the American society and in the American consensus.

This study began with the period from 1865 to 1896, an era in America that radiated with the belief that education could shape the future of a country that was destined for greatness. There was a vein of millennialism that ran deep into the core of American life. It was a period in which we found common school promoters expressing the ideology that America was literally God's country.

The educational and racial ideology regarding the rights of the Negro American and his role as a citizen in the culture were far different from those that were expressed at the end of the study in 1954. We have examined the ideology that supported the racial and educational views of a society in transition. The period under study opened with the collapse of the slave system, and closed with a Supreme Court decision that killed federal legislation designed to confer upon the Negro the political, civil and social status that only free whites had historically enjoyed. The study explored the practices and results of selective morality in a pluralistic society.³

In a general sense, schooling, textbooks, civil laws and the nineteenth century American lifestyle prescribed equality and its benefits to include those individual or group within the culture it tended to view itself as equal to. Through examining issues of equality in American thought, the meaning of American consensus morality is clarified. During the beginning of this study, schooling meant education primarily for white middle class Americans. The assumption that the Negro was in all aspects hopelessly inferior to whites was a major obstacle to any attempts to improve his social status through education. The dominant social and religious beliefs of the country proclaimed that racial inequality was just one more majestic demonstration of the wonderful providence of God.

The end of the Civil War brought with it a sense of hope that penetrated the hearts and minds of the newly freed slaves. It affirmed a sense of patriotism. However, the victorious aftermath was short lived. The American racial ideology declared that the emancipation proclamation was written only on paper and would not possess the power to permeate the social mores of a society that viewed itself as superior. It would not be until the middle of the twentieth century

that the ideology of racial tolerance would become a part of the collective American vocabulary.

Racial ideology was viewed as a basis for segregation in the schools. Therefore, education was not perceived as a need for children of the Negro race. Negroes during this early period began to form their own schools. Some schools became forerunners to the historical black colleges while others failed due to untrained teachers and in some instances the actual fear of death. The principles that applied to Plessy, legalized school segregation well into the twentieth century. The court's decision legalized a separate world for the Negro population. In effect, segregation would insure that white supremacy would not be shaken in that the Negro could legally be "kept in his place."⁴

It is clear that the evolution of equality in educational thought would face many difficult challenges in that the problems of the Negro were not a part of the national agenda. This was a period when the dominant culture was internally driven to lay the foundation that would enable it to become a strong nation and ultimately a world power. The Negro was viewed as no more than a tool to serve mankind.

Justice Harlan who so eloquently gave the only dissenting opinion in Plessy v. Ferguson⁵ proved capable of also turning a deaf ear to the plight of the Negro in the Cumming case.⁶ The court supported the views of segregation and racism. The opinion of the court was written by Justice John Marshall Harlan. There was no dissenting opinion. The ruling of the court reflects the racial views of many Americans during the turn of the century. Examples of literature are provided in this chapter to enable the reader to examine many of the fundamental principles upon which racial ideology was supported. In many of the literary works prior to the turn of the century, the writers maintained the position that

the Negro was not human. We examined how the invasion of Social Darwinism in American thought resulted in a litany of studies and literature centering around natural selection and the species of man. The beliefs and fears regarding the Negro became interwoven into the fibers of the American culture. The racial ideology that emerged, justified the American rationale to segregate and if possible, eliminate the Negro from all aspects of American life. Dejure segregation in education would insure and sustain the Negro's inability to move into the cultural mainstream.

The educational goals that we have seen provide insight into the educational value system. Educational goals have been presented for the purpose of providing insight into the educational value system of white culture for their children and the views regarding education for Negroes. The educational ideals that were promoted to strengthen the economic, social and political platforms of the nation excluded people of color. The reality of being a recipient of the kind of education that was sought for the nation's majority children was neither a reality for the Negro nor a remote possibility.

Excerpts from various forms of legislation provide the reader with an understanding of how the legal system supported and sustained the American consensus regarding the racial ideology that the Negro's place in society was that of service to others. Negroes were expected to fit into the white man's world by conforming to the rules and restrictions that informed him that his citizenship in America was less than desired. We saw from the presidential arena Theodore Roosevelt's sentiments regarding the Negro's role in society: "One great safety lies in steadily keeping view that the law of service is the great law of life for the Negro."⁷ He, too, perceived the Negro as being at a lower stage of development in the process of evolution. Perhaps his views provide an

explanation of his invitation of Booker T. Washington, President of Tuskegee Institute to confer with him at the White House. Washington was seen as a conformist and agreed with many of the majority held views regarding his racial group. The Negro had to be educated, and industrial education would be considered the best form of education for the Negro in that he would be trained to be a better servant for society.

Various points of the study, indicate how America portrayed its ideals as a model for other countries. Through school textbooks the reader examined the pristine ideas embodied in American thought regarding democracy in education. The American social construct and educational practices, are examined by studying the countervailing forces that separated the American creed from the social realities that existed within the culture for the American Negro. In spite of its history of racial conflict, a sense of how the American majority was able to continue to view itself as impartial in justice and in its own eyes maintain the place of honor as representing the epitome of democracy for all of its citizens is discussed. The tenets of thought that relate to American consensus morality, provides a sense of how many Americans view the ideology of equality in American life.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People organized men and women of all races and classes to assist in halting the practices of racism. The organization established a Legal Defense and Educational Fund. NAACP lawyers were relentless in their pursuit for educational equality. Nearly every major courtroom triumph for the Negro race during the period under study was accomplished through the NAACP. Other organizations were formed to bring about unity and strength in the Negro community.

By the close of the nineteenth century, the future of the Negro in American

life had been settled for the next fifty years. It was clear that the two races would be educated according to the needs of the society to take their places in two sociologically different worlds. Whites and Negroes would be obligated to the same flag; however, they would become two different kinds of peoples.

American ideology prior to 1938 sustained the Negro's status as a second-class citizen. He was still perceived within the culture as a hewer of wood and drawer of water. Black Americans, due to economic status and social immobility continued to be tightly trapped in the nation's urban and rural slums. The churches were among the most segregated institutions. Eleven o'clock Sunday morning was considered the most segregated hour of the week. The plight of the Negro's racial isolation was primarily rooted in private prejudice, old habits and misinformation. The temper of the court, whether federal, state or local had not changed regarding decision of discrimination and segregation. The courts held that "separate but equal" constituted a reasonable way of life for the nation in that it would promote the public peace and happiness by reducing social strains and preventing racial collision.

The fight against "Jim Crow" in the federal government as well as in everyday life brought with it an increased sense of racial solidarity and an acute interest in national affairs. Negroes would not give up their belief in the spirit of the constitution and the principles of democracy. However, as America entered World War I in April, 1917, conflicting sentiments of hope and despair deepened. Racial ideology and World War I provide as a backdrop for analyzing the racial views of the broader culture. The basic tenets of thought expoused by educational leaders compare and contrast the educational program and practices that were instituted for Negro students. The "Negro Problem" was one that many white Americans obstinately hoped would go away. The society worked

relentlessly to award the Negro with the dubious honor of being invisible. Therefore, the Negro and issues surrounding his education were brushed aside. It was during this period that Negro leaders again joined together to make known their view regarding the importance of quality education for all students. Their voices would be heard as far as the United States Supreme Court.

Segregated education was understood as being that type of education conducted by or for a differentiated group that was separated either voluntarily or involuntarily by virtue of some special set of characteristics. During the 1930s, a growing national movement was on the rise to improve education. Negro leaders continued their struggle to end de jure segregation in public education as was seen through the context of legal cases that were presented to courts during this period.

Educational literature throughout the period from 1918 to 1938 was replete with studies of the mental ability of Negroes. A number of scientific studies by white researchers regarding the Negro's abilities and limitations resulted in protests by Negro liberal groups. as a result of protest from Negro liberal groups, in particular, the NAACP. Samples of social and scientific studies are provided. White Americans became more aggressively assertive about their feelings toward the Negro. There were new outbursts of loyalty and patriotism on one hand and a new wave of lynchings on the other. The resurgence of the Ku-Klux-Klan was found to be as strong in the Middle West as it was in the South.

The assumption that the Negro child was not educable gained support with the spread of the movement for psychological testing. A number of studies were made, comparing the mental abilities of whites and Negroes. It was here that white Americans again sought support to justify their rationale for separating the racial groups for schooling. Racist books and articles continued to be printed,

arousing the fear of countless Americans in the 1930s that hordes of inferior immigrants would crowd America's shores and pollute the country's superior Nordic racial stock.

Many southern whites held firm to the belief that the Negro's place was on the farm. He was perceived as being happy picking cotton and doing manual labor. Therefore, some concluded that it would be necessary for state officials to spend large sums of money on the Negro's education.

During the years from 1910 to 1938 there was nothing to report in the way of federal legislation to protect Negroes from injury and outrage or to accelerate their progress toward a full enjoyment of their civil rights. The creation of separate school systems in states electing to take that step was virtually completed before the opening of this era. For the most part, no one seriously doubted that black children were being denied educational opportunities that were equal to that of whites. The general consensus was that through education, white children would be prepared to take their rightful place in society, while many insisted that equal provisions for the Negro would be wasted. NAACP lawyers continued to press for an increasingly literal interpretation of equality. Gradually they succeeded in establishing the concept that "separate but equal" could not satisfy the demands of equal protection; that only the shared use of the same public institutions would suffice.

Some decline in anti-Negro thought was being experienced in America during the years between 1938 and 1954. New scientific data persuaded many educated Americans to abandon their earlier notions of white superiority. However, racism throughout the country was still alive as we have seen in chapter five. Millions of Americans, North and South, were not silent regarding their opinion of the Negro's place in American life. Nordic-supremacy literature offered

nothing new in the face of mounting scientific evidence of the essential equality of men. However, white supremacy, an ideology of master race philosophy, was infused into the thinking of many respected Americans.

It was during this period that it became clear that state and federal courts would have to re-examine issues relating to the separate but equal doctrine in education. Negro leaders suggested that educational rights for all people should no longer be in question in America. The "separate but equal" issue in education was an attempt to reconcile two contradictory ideas. On the one hand, Negroes were to be given the same educational opportunities provided to white citizens; on the other hand, if Caucasians were to maintain their superior status, Negro citizens could not be given the same educational opportunities. These contradictory ideas were not reconciled in the "separate but equal" doctrine but by means of this doctrine, one idea was said to mean the other. In this context, "equal" education really meant unequal education for certain citizens. The "separate but equal" doctrine as it was expounded and practiced by the dominant race was always strong on equality in theory and equally strong on separateness in practice. It was meant to satisfy the American commitment to democratic education as an ideal. However, there was a reluctance to see the ideal put into general practice.

The Plessy decision played an important role in signifying the highest sanction to racial segregation. The doctrine of "separate but equal" encouraged, and became the touchstone and rationalization for further segregation under compulsion of law, not only in transportation, but in every aspect of human relations, from the cradle to the grave. American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. Following two World Wars and the Korean conflict, the American goal was to preserve democracy from racism of

the Nazis and Facists and other kinds of Communist totalitarianism. However, the great gap between American ideals and American practices regarding racism, encouraged people from all races throughout the world to focus on the United States to see what the leader of democracy would do concerning race relations at home. It was in this context that the public school racial segregation cases were decided in 1954.

As early as the fall of 1952, cases from four states, Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware and the District of Columbia were waiting review by the Supreme Court, all of them challenging the constitutionality of segregated public schools. In each, the facts showed that in all tangible respects, equality had in fact been somewhat attained. The real issue that confronted the court was no longer a mere question of the degree to which Negro schools approached equality with white schools; before the court now was the deeper issue: Is separate-but-equal really equal protection of the laws? Could Plessy v. Ferguson still be maintained?

The Supreme Court and lower court cases provided insight into how justice was perceived. Textbooks also depicted how that the Negro was locked out of the American mainstream. One can further examine how the Negro's role in American society somewhat changes over time. Educational ideology and racial ideology are examined in the social context of the various periods under study. The responses of many Negroes to their plight also provided some indications as to how members of the racial group viewed themselves and the American society.

The ideals embodied in the principles of democracy are contrasted to the educational realities that emerged for the American Negro over time. It is here that the rationale for a dual system of education can be more clearly understood as well as the dismantling of it. Probably no other case in the history of the

United States Supreme Court affected more directly the minds, heart, and daily lives of so many Americans as the cases collectively known as Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka. The decision marked the turning point in America's willingness to face the consequences of centuries of racial discrimination.

The notion of equality and democracy in education are in the hands of the American society. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 did not legislate morality into the hearts of the American people. America continues to make decisions regarding the meaning of democracy and what it will stand for. The ideology of equality will evolve over time as each new generation defines its meaning and applies a consensus interpretation to the basic underpinnings of American thought. Schools reflect the social and racial ideologies of the culture and in general are not autonomous in their educational and moral direction. Schools and school systems are influenced by the social thought within the culture. Many of their institutional developments are directed by ideas and attitudes that are articulated throughout the society.

Whether educational equality happens voluntarily through an instituted plan or evolves naturally, is the choice that America will make. Historically, American education has been viewed as the promise of a democratic society. The opportunity for young people to build upon the foundation of equality that has been laid will be determined by the citizens who choose equality as a standard for educational and social progress.

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2. Clarence J. Karier, Man, Society and Education (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1967), 216.
3. Richard Bardolph, Civil Rights Record (New York: Crowell Publishing Co., 1970), 25.
4. Rocco J. Tressolini, Justice and The Supreme Court (New York: Lippincott Co., 1963), 50-51.
5. Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, (1896) No. 210 146-47.
6. Cumming v. County Board of Education, 175 U.S. 528 (1899), 153.
7. Robert L. Factor, The Black Response (Reading Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1970), 213.

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APPENDIX

**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PREDOMINANTLY
BLACK INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING**

1837 - 1912

Institution	Year Founded
Cheyne State College Cheyne, Pennsylvania	1837
Lincoln University Lincoln University, Pennsylvania	1854
Wilberforce University Wilberforce, Ohio	1856
Morgan State University Baltimore, Maryland	1857
Atlanta University Atlanta, Georgia	1865
Bowie State College Bowie, Maryland	1865
Shaw University Raleigh, North Carolina	1865
Virginia Union University Richmond, Virginia	1865
Edward Waters College Jacksonville, Florida	1866
Fisk University Nashville, Tennessee	1866
Lincoln University Jefferson City, Missouri	1866
Rust College Holly Springs, Mississippi	1866
Barber-Scotia College Concord, North Carolina	1867

Fayetteville State Fayetteville, North Carolina	1867
Howard University Washington, D.C.	1867
Johnson C. Smith University Charlotte, North Carolina	1867
Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia	1867
Saint Augustine's College Raleigh, North Carolina	1867
Talladega College Talladega, Alabama	1867
Hampton Institute Hampton, Virginia	1868
Claflin College Orangeburg, South Carolina	1869
Clark College Atlanta, Georgia	1869
Dillard University New Orleans, Louisiana	1869
Tougaloo College Tougaloo, Mississippi	1869
Allen University Columbia, South Carolina	1870
Lemoyne-Owen College Memphis, Tennessee	1870
Paul Quinn College Waco, Texas	1872
University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff Pine Bluff, Arkansas	1873
Bennette College Greensboro, North Carolina	1873
Wiley College Marshall, Texas	1873

Alabama State University Montgomery, Alabama	1874
Florida Memorial College Miami, Florida	1874
Alabama A & M Normal, Alabama	1875
Alcorn State College Lorman, Mississippi	1875
Knoxville College Knoxville, Tennessee	1875
Houston-Tillotson College Austin, Texas	1876
Meharry Medical College Nashville, Tennessee	1876
Stillman Colleges Tuscaloosa, Alabama	1876
Jackson State University Jackson, Mississippi	1877
Philander-Smith College Little Rock, Arkansas	1877
Prairie View A & M University Prairie View, Texas	1878
Selma University Selma, Alabama	1878
Livingston College Salsbury, North Carolina	1879
Southern University Baton Rouge, Louisiana	1880
Bishop College Dallas, Texas	1881
Morristown College Morristown, Tennessee	1881
Spellman College Atlanta, Georgia	1881

Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	1881
Lane College Jackson, Tennessee	1882
Paine College Augusta, Georgia	1882
Virginia State University Petersburg, Virginia	1882
Kentucky State University Frankfort, Kentucky	1886
University of Maryland Eastern Shore Princess Anne, Maryland	1886
Central State University Wilberforce, Ohio	1887
Florida A & M Tallahassie, Florida	1887
Savannah State College Savannah, Georgia	1890
Delaware State College Dover, Delaware	1891
Elizabeth City State University Elizabeth City, North Carolina	1891
North Carolina A & T State University Greensboro, North Carolina	1891
West Virginia State College Institute, West Virginia	1891
Winston-Salem State University Winston-Salem, North Carolina	1892
Texas College Tyler, Texas	1894
Fort Valley State College Fort Valley, Georgia	1895
Oakwood College Huntsville, Alabama	1896

South Carolina State College Orangeburg, South Carolina	1896
Langston University Langston, Oklahoma	1897
Voorhees College Denmark, South Carolina	1897
Coppin State College Baltimore, Maryland	1900
Grambling State University Grambling, Louisiana	1901
Albany State College Albany, Georgia	1903
Bethune-Cookman College Daytona Beach, Florida	1904
Miles College Birmingham, Alabama	1905
Prentiss Normal and Industrial Institute Prentiss, Mississippi	1907
Morris Brown College Sumter, South Carolina	1908
Tennessee State University Nashville, Tennessee	1909
North Carolina Central University Durham, North Carolina	1910
Jarvis Christian College Hawkins, Texas	1912

Source: Harry A. Ploski and Warrent Marr II., The Negro Almanac, (New York: Bellwether Publishing Co., Inc., 1976), 250-251.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Cheryl Renee Gholar has been read and approved by the following committee:

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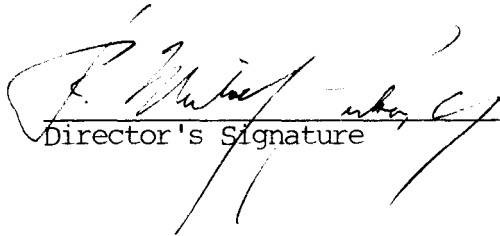
The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date

4 April 1990

Director's Signature

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "F. Michael Perko, S. J.", written over a horizontal line.